Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). 175 361 [797 311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. [712 721] [172]

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. 361 [795 439]

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below. [162] 361 621 [602 178]

House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 361 621
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live. 602
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins. [601]
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565] though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582 cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ĕ-mo'ĕ* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ĕ-mo'ĕ* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *táboo.* If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586 Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu. 264

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

lupekotofa, but whose name, however, would hardly be rendered Tineh]. 173

If Maulupekotofa died before 1793, who then was the Tui Tonga who died just 175
before Mariner arrived? No list mentions any Tui Tonga between Pau and his son 643
Fuanunuiava except Maulupekotofa, who was Pau's brother. Wilson (66, p. liii) says that "Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafaihe [presumably Fuanunuiava] succeeded him in the sovereignty". This contradicts Labillardière's statement quoted just above. Obviously one is wrong. Perhaps both are wrong. It seems to me that we are justified in believing that Maulupekotofa came to the throne after Pau's death about 1784 and reigned until 1806. At the time of Labillardière's visit he may have been away in Vavau. On the other hand, Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, makes Fuanunuiava the Tui Tonga of 1793."

Vason (60, p. 77) writes as follows concerning the "Tui Tonga" of 1798:

"Amongst our visitors was Duatonga [Tui Tonga], or Futtafaihe [Fatafehi], who, next to Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho [Pau], a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother [Tupoumoheofo] lost the sovereignty.

"Toogahowe [Tukuaho], or Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], who was a great warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe [Mumui] with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed."

Vason's reference to the "Tui Tonga" of his time (1798) seems to indicate that the position of heir-apparent of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava had caused him to be treated with the same respect as his uncle Maulupekotofa, who must still have been reigning as he, presumably, was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner's arrival in Tonga in 1806. Fuanunuiava must have been thirty-one years old in 1798. Several points in Vason's statements require comment. The Fatafehi he refers to as the son of Pau could not be Maulupekotofa, because he was Pau's brother. The reference to Fatafehi's (Fuanunuiava's) mother losing the sovereignty evidently has to do with her failure to maintain herself as Tui Kanokupolu (see page 88) rather than to any attempt to hold the position of her deceased husband the Tui Tonga Pau. She is listed on page 86 as the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu, an office which she held but a short time, as she was ejected by force of arms by her cousin (her father's brother's son) Tukuaho, who then proceeded to establish his father Mumui as Tui Kanokupolu. With Mumui's death in 1797 Tukuaho became Tui Kanokupolu.

Finally, Anthony Uhatafe, bearer of the matapule title of Uhatafe, informed me that tradition reports estrangement of Pau and his son, because Fuanunuiava was "called king when born" (*fuaaihau*). For this reason Pau refused to confide the ancient lore to him.

The present line of rulers on the Tongan throne really holds the posi- 643
tion of the Tui Tonga, modified of course by European innovations. Al- [178]
though the father-son succession of Tui Tonga of the Ahoeitu dynasty ended with Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth of the line, the office was not really abolished, but was bestowed upon the reigning Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou (also known as Taufaahau and Maeakafa). The bestowal of the royal honors took place after the death of Laufilitonga, at Vavau, where the principal chiefs of Tonga assembled and proclaimed George I Tupou the next Tui Tonga, vesting him with all of the dignities of the office, such as the Tui Tonga's peculiar kava ceremonial, the ceremonies connected with his food, and the special words applied to him. Thus it is quite legitimate to reckon George I Tupou as the fortieth Tui Tonga, George II Tupou

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and 643
Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo 796
District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought 526
a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow any- 527
where was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula* 643
tevolo) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams 796
called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. 527
The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[8]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and
people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to (784)
take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activ- (178)
ities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See 25, 643
p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi 764
at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of 349
stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

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[8] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs 643
and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish 651
or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui [421]
Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, [423]
Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the [622]
offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become [124]
a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a [644]
presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a
distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga.
Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the
Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who 643
resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, 622
and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers 651
who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. [565]
Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to
their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui
Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn
presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first
coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented
to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo [534]
was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed [202]
inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to 643
petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. 463
Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title 651
Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special
business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to
Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei,
who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom
the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no [178]
> longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie 643
a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, 622
first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was 651
insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, 782
but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

Chief Ata listed for me the people of chiefly rank (not necessarily having 565 titles) residing on his hereditary lands. He listed these Haa Ngata Motua people in six groups of descending rank as follows:

Group A 565
  1. Shadrach Ahio 551
Group B
  2. Solomon Ata (the informant)
  3. Solomon Ahomee
Group C
  4. John Latukefu
Group D
  5. Israel Utoimoa (son of 1)
  6. Malakai Sikotaipangai (son of 1)
  7. Malakai Ahio (son of 1)
  8. Dominica Tupou, a woman
  9. Shadrach Taulango
  10. William Teukava (father's brother of 2)
  11. John Lamipeti
  12. Israel Langi
  13. David Finau
  14. James Seluimatai
  15. Poasi Pupua
Group E
  16. Josiah Pulumu
Group F
  17. Daniel Palu. Placed in lowest group because father and grandfather married commoners.

Ata listed three other individuals of the chiefly class who reside on his lands but who are not Haa Ngata Motua people. They are John Momotu (from the Haa Havea), Pauline Manutuufanga (Ata's mother from Nukualofa, of Tongatabu-Niuatoputapu parentage), and Tupou Vavatau Ata, fourth or fifth wife of the preceding Ata (from the Tui Tonga's family).

Similar, but shorter, lists were obtained in other localities. At Felemea, Uiha Island, title bearers in descending order of rank are listed as: Chiefs Hoakai and Fakatouio; matapules Leleimoepo, Tukuafu, and Kepa. At Uiha village, Uiha Island, the similar graded list of title bearers runs as follows: Chiefs Malupo, Halatokoua, Fehiosi, and Tahilau; matapules Tafuna, Tea, Vaipuna, Vao, Tahimatakimoana, and Angakehe.

In ancient times the commoners (*tua*) lived on their respective tracts 565 (*api*) and were thus scattered over the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the 361 various chiefs. Usually each *api* was inhabited by a man and his family. In 686 olden days a commoner could not change from chief to chief, and a *tua* or [592] matapule who deserted might be killed; but nowadays changes are possible [178] though seldom made. A modern instance of desertion came to my notice. While a certain chief was in New Zealand, a matapule who lived on Atata left that island and attached himself to a chief at Mua, Tongatabu, thence

going to Haapai. Later, returning to his old master, he was driven away. 565
Anciently he might have been executed. 361
686

The matapule usually dwelt close to the chiefs to whom they were attached, 565
as did also certain *tua* who performed menial tasks, such as cooking. 361
Many establishments of chiefs constituted fair-sized settlements. 621

The rank of male tenants (heads of families) of *api* in several localities, 565
as recorded in 1920, is shown in Table 8. It will be noted that chiefs are 361
relatively most numerous in Lifuka and Tongatabu, the seats of government. 554
Though a different classification might be made by other informants, 592
the figures probably give a fair idea of the relative numbers of the three 162
classes among tenants, and of the local variation which prevails.

TABLE 8. RANK OF TENANTS AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

	CHIEFS	MATAPULES	COMMONERS
Pangai, Lifuka	14	49	133
Hihifo, Lifuka	16	40	104
Holopeka, Lifuka	1	9	8
Koulo, Lifuka	2	18	30
Lifuka as a whole	33	116	275
Fangaleounga, Foa	0	1	3
Fotua, Foa	1	2	22
Lotofoa, Foa	6	23	54
Faleloa, Foa	1	27	31
Foa as a whole	8	53	110
Fotuhaa Island	2	1	43
Uiha, Uiha (*tofia* of Malupo)	3	23	109
Kolovai, Tongatabu (*tofia* of Ata)	18	10	74
Atata Island (*tofia* of Ata)	1	1	8

In the former Tongan population there was evidently a still lower element 567
than the commoners, the *popula* (slave, prisoner). Anciently these [727]
people seem to have been largely war prisoners; one informant said they
were conquered chiefs and matapule who were enslaved. Through the efforts [797]
of the missionaries, this class distinction has been completely eliminated, [178]
but certainly some commoners to-day are the descendants of chiefs [565]
whose political stars fell. A term apparently synonymous in part with *popula* is *hopoate*. It is sometimes used to-day with the meaning of stranger; for example, shipwrecked people from Futuna are *hopoate*, but are treated as guests, not as slaves.

I doubt if matapule can appropriately be called a rank at all. It is 565
an office to which men are appointed from among the higher non-chiefly [554]
families and the rank of a matapule would vary according to the rank of the chief by whom he was appointed and whom he served. Likewise, chieftainship is an office. A chief's relatives are not chiefs in the strict sense of the word, but naturally have a higher social standing than the relatives of

matapules, or commoners. However, the terms *eiki* (chief) and *tua* (commoner) 565
are used also in a relative sense. Thus, throughout the Tongan social
structure at its various levels, we find people performing analogous functions,
receiving similar treatment and having like terms applied to them. To cite
polar examples: Tungi, the Prince Consort, is *eiki* to a large district, and of
the two girls Ika and Fakatoumafi (see page 18), Ika is *eiki* to Fakatoumafi.
The district owes deference to Tungi, and Fakatoumafi owes deference to Ika.

Because of primogeniture, it is obvious that the descendants of younger 558
siblings sink in rank. The commoner is the man in a line of descent that [428]
gets further and further from the head of the lineage with each succeeding [613]
generation. Regression is a simpler process than progression and for every
person who rises in rank there are many who correspondingly sink. In a 554
large measure, a person is the victim of the circumstances of his birth; his 565
position in society is predetermined by his parentage, by his sex and by the
order of his birth within the family. In modern Tonga with its constitutional [178]
government and its dual house of parliament there are, of course, possibilities
open to the commoner which were closed to him in former times. But even
in ancient times there is evidence that certain individuals managed to move
up the social ladder slightly above the rung on which the circumstances of
birth appear to have placed them.

For example, Latukefu, a member of the Haa Ngata Motua, is reckoned
as a chief, although by blood he is a commoner. He is Tui Pangai (page 104)
and his business is to examine the plantations of the people and to tapu
food which will be desired by the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs or the Tui Kanokupolu.
Latukefu is not a member of the Haa Ngata Motua by virtue of [597]
descent from the first Tui Kanokupolu, but by the adoption of one of his forefathers [613]
into the lineage. To-day he is recognized as a "brother of all of the
Haa Ngata Motua chiefs." It is said that the original adoption was made because
the Latukefu of that day was quite well off and was a very industrious
agriculturist. This may not be true as anciently a chief might arbitrarily
seize a commoner's goods; there was no necessity of making a chief out of a
commoner merely to utilize his plantation produce, but at any rate, Latukefu
to-day ranks the great matapule Motuapuaka. In the absence of Ahio
and Ata, he is the president of the kava ring of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs.

Theoretically, the highest matapules are ranked by the lowest chiefs and 565
anciently the position was recognized. But to-day the two great matapules [423]
Motuapuka and Lauaki, possess hereditary lands of considerable extent
which places them in a position superior to many chiefs who are without
hereditary lands.

Another factor which brings about a lessening of rank is marriage to 565
women of low rank. One informant said that anciently a young chief might 581
558
[684]

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this 565
happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded 581
as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few 558
chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, [684]
if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the
daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would
not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous 565
marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the 581
several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of 558 428
chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining [595]
only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only
the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind
the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their [593]
descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated 565
in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the 581
title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except 558
the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In
ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs,
inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master,
the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has 565
summed up the relationship of chief and commoner: 622

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal
> and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
> purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief
> had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace;
> but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a
> lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together
> with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins,
> in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs,
> leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries 565
> had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the 622
> grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, 797
> because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but 178
> a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and
> clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges
> which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and 613 641
people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom. 565

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one 565
of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me 622
that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that 602
all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact,
usually constituting the following of a chief.

his high position is derived frcm the Tui Tonga, chiefliness is an attribute 622 which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga. [643]

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called *houeiki* (*hou*, a collective prefix; *eiki*, chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) [773] the term *houeiki* applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pele- [643] hake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (*toa*) and "chiefs by the hand" (*eiki i he nima*), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective.

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, 622 Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horse- 178 whips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men [689] who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared.

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly 622 blood. The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half- 827 chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (*ngeesi taha*). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term *vaataha*—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be *eiki* because of his father's royal blood.

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken [554] of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner.

The terms *eikimotu, eikitaupotu,* and *eikitoho* refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term *eikisii* means a petty chief. The term *eikianga* designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any 622 person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression fcr title is *hingoa fakanofo* (literally, appointment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a 622 title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in 554 rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of [593] his four classes of society: *eiki,* matapule, *mua,* and *tua.* This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank.

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so 622 far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first [798]

chiefs. One informant said that Loau was probably preceded by the Tui Haa 622
Tuunga, but I rather doubt this, as there was a Tui Haa Tuunga living at 773
Nukunuku during the reign of the second Tui Kanokupolu, in the seventeenth 173
century. The latest reference to Loau seems to connect him with the reign of the twenty-third Tui Tonga, in the fifteenth century.

There are several reasons for believing that Loau belongs to the period 622
before the establishment of the office of Tui Kanokupolu: (a) the Haapai 173
chiefs reputed to be the descendants of Loau have sunk to political insignificance, indicating that the Tui Kanokupolu adherents have eclipsed them; (b) the people who to-day claim descent from the Tui Haa Tuunga have ceased to be noble, a condition attributable to the same cause; (c) the territory ruled by the Tui Haa Tuunga seems to have greatly overlapped Loau's territory and extended as far west as Nukunuku, a feature which suggests, when coupled with the presence of a Tui Haa Tuunga in the Seventeenth Century, that Loau is the earlier of the two titles and that with the disappearance of the Loau title of Tui Haamea, there developed the Tui Haa Tuunga.

Traditionally, it was a Loau who allotted stewards to all Tonga as far as Uvea, and who allotted the first tasks (*fatongia*) among the different peoples—for example, assigning to the people of Tofua the bringing of volcanic stones. This traditional organization of Loau persisted until the coming
of Europeans. King George I, in the Nineteenth Century, reallotted the [178]
land but with scant alteration in the old division. [423]

The forefathers of the chiefs who now live scattered about in the Hihifo and Nukualofa districts are reputed to have lived in Haamea with Loau. The sites of the houses of the various chiefs in Haamea are still known, the mounds on which the houses stood being visible to-day. Some of the present day chiefs know the sites of their predecessors' houses in Haamea—for example, the site of the chief Lasike in Haamea is called Lakepa, as is also one of the villages belonging to him to-day. It seems likely that the chiefs now residing at Vaini and all of the way westward from there had forefathers who lived in Haamea with Loau. Maafu, the present chief of Vaini, owns Tokomololo, which is within the district of Haamea. Within Haamea was a large prairie called the *toafa* of Haamea which extended from Matakieua to Lakepa. The bush in this district is of recent growth.

The water hole in Haamea where Loau drank is still known. The site of the pond where the old legend says he sailed his vessel (26, pp. 139-152) is still to be seen but the place is dry.

Presumably after the disappearance of Loau, Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, established himself in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu.

(*tehina*). J. Langoia Vahai was chief in 1862. J. Vahai died August 14, 1900. An 622
earlier Vahai bore the personal name of Toloaatonga. 173

Valu, chief of Utulau, Tongatabu. 551

Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, resident at Fahefa, Tongatabu. The 554
first Veehala was the son of Leilua (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and 613
of Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee). Punou Veehala was chief in 1862. Shadrach Veehala (son of Ata), died March 26, 1893.

Veikune, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. The name Veikune was made a title by King George II as a reward to Jiosateki Veikune, premier of Tonga from 1893 till 1904. The holder of the title in 1921 was the Governor of Vavau. Osaiasi Tonga Veikune died January 3, 1867. Jiosateki Veikune died October 17, 1913.

Vunivalu, the first Vunivalu mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies bore the personal name Matausioehau, and was the son of a Tongan woman named Kalaepulevalu and a Fijian named Ate. He was succeeded by his son Uaisele (Wesley?) Fifita, and Fifita was succeeded as Vunivalu by his son Maafu, and Maafu was succeeded by his son Tupou. Hocart (32) derives the Tongan Vunivalu from Lakemba.

MATAPULES

624
The matapules (called by some writers petty chiefs) are, strictly speak- 565
ing, the titled ceremonial attendants of titled chiefs as distinguished from at- [622]
tendants in general (*takanga*). But like *eiki* (chief), the word matapule
has been extended in application to include all persons who are of matapule
rank by virtue of their blood, regardless of whether they hold titles or not.
Only one person in a family at one time holds a matapule title. Only a [622]
titled chief may have a titled matapule. Kava can be presented ceremonially [276]
only by a matapule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only
through a matapule.

Some of the duties of the matapule are described in the sections "The [128]
court of the Tui Tonga" (pp. 63-71) and "Kava drinking" (pp. 156-168).

Like the titled chief, the titled matapule is the representative of the 565
first title bearer or ancestor. As a rule he serves the titled chief whose 622
ancestor his ancestor served. There is a very considerable range in the 624
power and influence of matapules, their positions being correlated largely
with the power and influence of the chiefs they serve. Thus to-day Lauaki [643]
and Motuapuaka are by far the greatest of the matapules, for they serve [644]
the sovereign Tui Kanokupolu. On the other hand the present matapules [643]
of the Tui Tonga exercise no such power and influence as did their prede- [178]
cessors in the days when the Tui Tonga was flourishing.

The matapules are related to both chiefs and commoners. The ancestor of 565
Lauaki is reputed to have descended from the sky with his brother Ahoeitu, 173
the first Tui Tonga, but most other matapule titles are traced to the advent 167
of some foreigner from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. Just what significance is to be attached to the absence of matapules from Niue and Futuna, I do not know. Their absence from Uvea, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafoou is no doubt connected with the feeling that the inhabitants of those islands are Ton-

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might 276
differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 574 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated 565
as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little 276
raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a 574
piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the 415
Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's 276
kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches 574
away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting 576
baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava 276
circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom pre- 574
sented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal 264 [178]
nephews or grandchildren). [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a 276
distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must 574
direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three 484 643
mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motua- [502]
puaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present 276
Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said 574
to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the 576
Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, [681]
> "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the [622]
> food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded [264]
> into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I 276
have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink. 574
To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and 576
Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. 643
The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke. 264 [689]

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making 276
and serving of kava at a modern kava party: 574 576

> The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.
>
> Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava* responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a
> stone anvil with a hammerstone. [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *mama*.] [178]
>
> The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *kaukau i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tauoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.
>
> The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in [195
> the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl
> slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to 643]
> the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank.
>
> The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.
>
> Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl. In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *unu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left foream, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

LAND OWNERSHIP

Regarding the ancient systems of land tenure in Tonga, Alexander (1) 423
writes;

> On passing from the three other western groups [New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji] to
> Tonga, we find a remarkable and striking change in political institutions, in land tenure,
> and in social customs. In a word, we are politically, though not geographically, in eastern
> Polynesia. We find no organized village communities or clans, holding lands in common, [621]
> but a fully developed feudal system, and a strong centralized government. The patriarchal [641]
> head of the clan has become a landlord, and the clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie [642]
> of blood relationship, have become his tenants and subjects. From Rev. L. Fison we learn [613]
> that the nation was divided into four main tribes, two of which were further subdivided [619]
> into subtribes.
>
> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great 643
> landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn sub- 622
> divided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the 423
> king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by [701]
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general [651]
> tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of
> their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The [565]
> "Tuas" could not call anything they had their own. The great chiefs could seize on [421]
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor
> upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all [466]
> the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the [226]
> Society and Hawaiian islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. [171]
> On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting
> her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, [428]
> where Tribal tenure prevailed.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 412) says:

> The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such,
> seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that
> are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal
> barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, 428
> everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the 643
> eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest
> of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is [171]
> born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his
> decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

MODERN LANDED NOBLES

Thomson (54, pp. 230, 231) has the following to say concerning land 423
tenure:

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In 423
> former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The 643
> great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the 565
> right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the 178
> title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land 622
> was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But
> in 1888, Mr. Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing [427]

> to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he 423
> called "inheritances," to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the 643
> tenants a rental of $1 per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with 565
> the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without 178
> evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined 622
> to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all 427
> rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance."

The following is the list of "hereditary" lands (*tofia*) granted, not in 423
1888, but on October 24, 1882, and increased by George II on August 24, 643
1894. These seem to include the ancient seats of the chiefs involved. In 622
other words, George I merely confirmed the great chiefs in the holding of their forefathers' fiefs. For example, Fonoifua Island anciently belonged to a Tui Afitu (26, p. 68), on whom it was bestowed by his wife, a Female Tui Tonga; Tungua Island anciently belonged to Tui Haa Teiho. Through a list published by the Tongan Government on March 3, 1919, Queen Charlotte again confirmed the holders of "hereditary" lands in their fiefs. Figure 4 shows the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the island of Tongatabu.

1. Tungi. From Mua following the road (or trench) straight to the weather 423
shore in the northern part of Hahake. Havelu, Fatumu, Lavengatonga, and Haata- 643
kalaua belong to this estate, and Fuaamotu, Kaiavale, Haatui, Navutoka (which Malupo 622
gave up), and Toi. All are in Tongatabu Island. 551
2. Kalanivalu (Fakaua). Lapaha, Hamula, and Toloa are included, but not Hoi, Nukuleka, and Haameneuli. All in Tongatabu. Pangia is now the holder. 103
3. Fatafehi, the Tui Pelehake. Pelehake in Tongatabu, Haatalafale in Haapai, and Haatalafale in Vavau.
4. Nuku. Kolonga, Poha, and Kotongo, all in Tongatabu Island.
5. Niukapu. Fangaleounga, Foa Island, Haapai.
6. Maafu. The inland side of the road to Tokomololo, and Vaini, Tongatabu Island.
7. Lavaka. Fualu and Pea, Tongatabu Island.
8. Fielakepa. Havelu, Tongatabu Island.
9. Ata. Kolovai, Tongatabu Island; Atata Island.
10. Veehala. Fahefa, Tongatabu Island, and Pangai, Eua Island.
11. George Ulukalala. Hihifo, Vavau Island.
12. Tui Haa Teiho. Tungua and Matuku islands, Haapai; Haateiho, Tongatabu Island; Haateiho, Uiha Island, Haapai; Haateiho, Vavau Island.
13. Tui Haa Ngana. Haano, Pukotala, and Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai.
14. Malupo. Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai; Takaamoatoa and Teleki, Vavau Island.
15. Fotofili. Alele and the western side of the road in Angaha; and Ahau, Palau, and Haahoko, Niuafoou Island.
16. Maatu. Vaipoa and Hihifo, Niuatoputapu Island; but Falehau and Matavai, Niuatoputapu Island, and Tafahi Island, are not included.
17. Luani. Nakolo, Malapo, and Fetoa in Tongatabu; Tefisi, Vavau Island.
18. Tui Lakepa. Talasiu, Tongatabu Island; Ofu and Okoa islands, Vavau group; and Vasivasi, Hunga Island, Vavau group.
19. Tui Afitu. Makave, Vavau Island; Holopeka, Lifuka Island, Haapai; and Fonoifua Island, Haapai.
20. Vaea. Houma, Tongatabu Island.

though they opposed the move. A chief's *fahu* might share in the land of his deceased mother's brother if he wished. There seems to have been less value set on land anciently than at the present day. 643 622 423 565 604 178

From the standpoint of tenancy the tracts comprise (1) *tofia*, "hereditary" lands of the chiefs and modernly of certain matapules; (2) *api* (rendered *abbey* by some early writers), field either with or without an enclosing fence; (3) *api-kolo*, town lot—a modern development. The term *lotoa* (*ladore* of some earlier writers), designates a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next a dwelling. A fenced *api* is called *lotoapi*. 423

The following anecdotes exemplify the Tongan attitude with regard to the sovereign's ownership of all land. 643 423 622

When parcelling out and confirming the tenure of the lands now held by the various nobles, King George I asked Ata (great-grandfather of the present Ata) where his hereditary lands lay. Ata replied that he had none, that all land belong to the king. The king then told him to take certain portions of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and to call his place of residence Kolovai. Formerly Kolovai was called Pangai and was the seat of the earlier Tui Kanokupolu.

A man named Lolohea parcelled out land on Foa Island among the people at the request of King George I. A piece called Pangai was left over. The king assigned this to Lolohea, saying: "It belonged to your forefathers."

The island of Koloa, Vavau, once the Tui Tonga's personal property, [729]
was given by George I to Toamotu, a chief, in reward for war services. [555]
There is a long series of similar allotments apparently based on ancient practice. Such allotments did not entail alienation of the land. It was still the
king's, but was to be used by the subject to whom allotted. Even cemetery [764]
sites were bestowed by George I.

THE PERSONAL LANDS OF THE TUI TONGA

According to a list compiled for King George II by Tafolo, scion of the Tui Tonga family, tracts specifically set aside as personal lands of the Tui Tonga comprise 7 on Tongatabu Island, 12 on Lifuka Island, and 7 on islands in the Vavau group. There are similar personal lands of the Tui Kanokupolu. 643 423 103

Tui Tonga tracts in Tongatabu Island are: Fangaoneone in Mua, Utuleva in Mua, various tracts near Lapaha, Veifoa, Ualako in the Hahake district, Pipi, Hnameneuli.

Tui Tonga tracts in Lifuka Island, Haapai are: Otufanga, Ahofakasiu, Vainafa, Talaufanga, Vailupesia, Vaiola, Olovehi, Matamoana, Utulaaina, Finevalapililolo, Vakataumai, Nakolovou, all of which except Nakolovou are near Tongoleleka—a part of the modern village of Hihifo. Nakolovou is near the modern village of Pangai.

Cisterns (*lepa*) for conserving rain water for drinking purposes were 312
no doubt shared by several families, though owned by the chiefs. The an- 423
cient type of cistern, which has now been replaced by a concrete cistern, was [622]
a hole about ten feet deep, dug near a house. The sides and bottom of [178]
this hole were beaten with the trunk of a banana tree until they were hard
and waterproof. Water was lead from the roof of the house by means of [414]
spouts made of bamboo sticks split in halves.

Dug wells, like clay-lined cisterns, were owned by the chiefs. (See p. [622]
124.) These were used as bathing places, fresh or brackish water for this [515]
purpose being much appreciated. Each chief usually had such a bathing
place near his residence. He might allow his matapule to use it also, but (565)
not his commoners. Women had special bathing places. A well or cistern [562]
for bathing was called *vaikaukau*. Many of them bore names (25). One [515]
just northwest of Nukualofa belongs to the chief Lomu. [552]

NOTES ON LAND HOLDINGS

EUA

It is said that originally the northern part of the Eua Island was held 423
by Manumua, anciently a chief of Eua, who was attached to the court of 622
the Tui Tonga, and the southern part by another chief named Vakauta, 173
but that later chiefs from Tongatabu other than the governors sent by the 103
Tui Tonga obtained portions. Both original owners seem to have assigned
portions of their holdings to later comers, as the following records show:

Tuanuku, a tract at the southern end of Eua was so named for Havea Tuanuku, younger brother of a former chief Nuku of Tongatabu, who came to Eua in the Eighteenth Century to be matapule to the governor Tukuaho. Manumua gave the tract to Havea Tuanuku and it is held to-day by one of Havea's descendants.

A Tui Kanokupolu came to Houma in Eua Island on a vacation (*takataka i Houma*; literally, walking about in Houma) and begot by a Houma woman a son whom he named Tupou Takatakaihouma and who was called for short Taka. Manumua gave the lad Houma, the north end of the island for his *tofia*.

Manumua gave as a *tofia* to Hama, a soothsayer (*tongafisi*), who came from the Tui Haa Takalaua, a tract which included Ofilei and Sipangai and adjoined that of Taka. Hama also had an *api* called Halahu, at the southern end of the island. The particular spot where he lived is called Matakiata (Seeing-to-Ata), because in his capacity of *tongafisi* he discovered Ata Island. He told his son to go to Ata.

The modern chief Hafoka of Eua, a relative of Veehala of Tongatabu, says that the holdings that were once his forefathers' are now vested in Veehala, who receives the rents from them. Kalau Island, south of Eua, once belonged to Hafoka and was utilized by the people of Haaluma, a former hamlet in Hafoka's *tofia* near the southern end of Eua. It was deserted in Christian times and its people now live in Ohonua.

TONGATABU

Formerly all the Haa Havea chiefs, as well as the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, had pieces of land in Hihifo. The Haa Havea chiefs received their

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope*, a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite so- 304
ciety) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626]
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu*. I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the 669
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [178]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come
back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and
bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516]
against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

[Niuatoputapu Island]

Chiefs and braves (*toa*) of Niuatoputapu formerly singed their hair 565
short with a burning coconut stem (the part from which the nut is sus- 302
pended), while other men wore their hair long like women.

According to the Maatu I interviewed the land was divided out to the 622
various chiefs by Maatu, who created the chiefs and their titles. After some 634
had held their land for a time they would "get cheeky," so that Maatu would 423
have to fight them again. The chiefs made presents of food and other prod- 622 634
ucts to Maatu continually. The commoners were "like dogs" and were 565
called *tua*. The matapules of Niuatoputapu, like those elsewhere in the Ton- 622
gan kingdom, did the chief's bidding with regard to the distribution of food, 624
kava, etc. A matapule who made a mistake in serving kava would be clubbed. [276]
If, however, the matapule chanced to be the grandson of Maatu (that is the [689]
issue of a marriage of one of Maatu's relatives with a person of matapule
rank) he would not be punished. In 1920 there was living at Niuatoputapu
an officiating matapule, who was eighty-nine years old.

Maatu and his family constituted the *houeiki*. Below them were the 634
chiefs and other people who were allotted pieces of land by Maatu. These 622
were called *kaumaatua*. One of them acted as regent in the absence of 565
Maatu. When one of Maatu's matapules begot a son of a woman of a place [554]
ruled by a *kaumaatua* (petty chief), that son acted as the matapule to that
petty chief, who would be either his maternal grandfather or his maternal
uncle. When an older Maatu (presumably Ngongo) fought the petty chiefs 634
and conquered them he retracted their titles and lands. These were restored 622 423
by Maatu No. 9. The retraction of titles and lands occurred with every 554
title bearer except Motuapala, who officiated at Maatu's oven, presumably as
a sort of matapule. The matapule title of Sika was taken from a conquered 634
matapule and has now been bestowed upon a person of Maatu's family. 565
Sika is the principal matapule of Maatu to-day. He is also matapule to the 554
Tui Kanokupolu when the Tui Kanokupolu visits Niuatoputapu.

There is no doubt but what the power of Maatu in the Niuatoputapu 634
group has been diminished within the last half century, for a certain portion 178
of the island is now claimed by the Tongan government. In other words it
was regarded as crown land. This land was obtained by the Tui Kanoku- [643]
polu George I, evidently as a part of his policy of everywhere strengthening
his hold and of increasing the cohesion of his kingdom. Under just which
Maatu George I secured his holdings in Niuatoputapu I do not know. Since
the death of the Maatu whom I met in 1920 and 1921, an eleventh incum-
bent has perhaps been appointed, although as to this I have not heard.
Presumably the Queen of Tonga has filled the vacancy if a suitable heir [643]
has been forthcoming.

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

> It is said in the traditions that there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform (*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

> If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he 778
> will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," 753
> meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall
> sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana) 554
> of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another [593]
> will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from
> Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking [755]
> the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the 778
god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a 411
spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

> Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability 778
to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the 755
mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. 775
Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called 774
laumalie for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem 774
to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours,
but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* 775
is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a (787)
relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In [565]
modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the [178]
basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

563 tunity to relate it. Among Finow's followers, 768 there was a certain chief, a native of Fiji, who about that period fell ill and died: his wife, who was also a native of Fiji, in accordance with the religious notions in which she had been brought up, considered it a breach of duty to outlive him; she therefore desired to be strangled. All her Tonga friends endeavoured to dissuade her from what appeared to them so unnecessary and useless an act; but no! she was determined, she said, to fulfil her duty, in defect of which she should never be happy in her mind,—the hotooas of Fiji would punish her; and thus, by living, she should only incur fresh miseries. Her friends, finding all remonstrances in vain, allowed her to do as she pleased: she accordingly laid herself down on the ground, by the side of her deceased husband, with her face upwards; and desiring a couple of Fiji men to perform their duty, they put a band of *gnatoo* round her neck, and pulling at each end, soon ended her existence*. In the evening they were buried together in the same grave, in a sitting posture, according [727] to the Fiji custom. Mr. Mariner happened not to be present when she was strangled, but

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[178] [766] * It used to be the custom at Tonga, when the divine chief, Tooitonga, died, to strangle his chief wife; but this absurd practice was left off during Mr. Mariner's time.

as far as Mr. Mariner has seen and heard, has 643
never been the case; and it seems strange that 565
the favour of divine inspiration should be particularly [787]
bestowed upon men seldom higher in
rank than matabooles: such, however, is the
case, and, to reconcile it with propriety, we may
suppose that Tooitonga and Veachi are supposed
to be of too high a rank to be the mere servants
of the gods, and mere instruments of communication
between them and mankind, but rather
as the highest and most worthy of mankind, and
next to the gods in rank and dignity. These [178]
two persons, however high in rank, have very
little comparative power, though it is suspected
that, formerly, when the Tonga people were a
peaceable nation, and more attention was paid
to religious rites and institutions, that they had
a vast deal more influence than they have had
of late years. They now very seldom meddle 643
with political matters, though Mr. Mariner once 634
witnessed an instance where Tooitonga ventured 669
to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his [203]
warlike proceedings against Vavaoo, at the time
when his aunt, Toe Oomoo, revolted; for this
purpose he went into the house on a *malái,* and
sent a messenger to the king to say that he was
there; which is a polite mode of telling a person
you want him to come, that you may speak to
him. He did not go to the king's house in [565]
[784]

643 person to communicate what he had to say,
634 because, being the superior chief, every thing would have been *tabooed* that he happened to
669 touch. When the king arrived, Tooitonga
[565 mildly addressed him on the subject of his
784] aunt's revolt, and advised that he should endeavour to accommodate matters rather than involve the country in war: to which the king shortly replied, "My lord Tooitonga* may re- "turn to his own part of the island, and content "himself in peace and security; matters of "war are my concern, and in which he has no
643 "right to interfere." He then left him. Thus, in all respects, we are to regard Tooitonga as a *divine* chief of the highest rank, but having no power or authority in affairs belonging to the
565 king. It is presumed, however, that when the
178 Tonga islands were in a state of peace, that is, before the people had acquired their warlike habits, that Tooitonga, as well as Veachi, had some influence even in matters of civil government, that their advice was often asked, and

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[192
195] * *Ho Egi Tooitonga* means, literally, "thy lord Tooitonga," in which the possessive pronoun *thy*, or *your*, is used instead of *my*: or, if the word *egi* be translated lordship, or chiefship, the term of address will be more consistent and similar to ours, *your lordship, your grace, your majesty*. The title, *ho egi*, is never used but in addressing a superior chief, or speaking of a god; or in a public speech. *Ho Egi!* also means chiefs, as in the commencement of the speech of Finow the second on coming into power.

sometimes taken. Veachi used often to lament 643
to Mr. Mariner, that those happy days were 565
passed away when they used to live in peace 178
and happiness at the island of Tonga, when
every body paid the highest respect to the divine
chiefs, and there were no disturbances to
fear, the land was well cultivated, and frequent
rich presents were sent to them: others made
the same complaint. In short, it would appear [768]
that the very ancient complaint, *tempora mutantur*,
the almost universal cry of dissatisfaction, [766]
is heard at the Tonga islands as well as elsewhere;
but the distant prospect generally appears
more beautiful than the place whereon
we stand: though, in all probability, Tooitonga
and Veachi had great reason to complain, particularly
Tooitonga, respect towards whom was
evidently falling off even in Mr. Mariner's time;
for, formerly, it was thought necessary, when
Tooitonga died, that his chief wife should be
strangled and buried with him, but, in respect
to the two last Tooitongas, this was not performed.
Again, the late king would not allow 643
Tooitonga to give him any advice in matters of 634
war, but insisted that he should remain in peace 651
and quietness at his own side of the island: and 628
lastly, the present king, when the late Tooitonga
died, would not allow his son to succeed to that
high title, but, at one bold stroke, freed the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 people from a vast burden of taxes, by annulling
634 the title of Tooitonga, and the expensive
651 ceremony of *Inachi*, with a view, also, (as the
628 reader will recollect) to do away with the necessity
of any communication with the Hapai
565 people. Veachi, being a sensible, good, quiet
sort of man, who interfered in no public matters,
644 and who had nothing to do with the people
of other islands but his own, (Toongooa,) was
still suffered to retain his dignity, and probably
does to this day; and, in that case, is the greatest
chief at the Tonga islands, for the late Tooitonga's
son, if he have not been since made a
178 Tooitonga, is below Veachi in rank. Thus it
628 appears that the Tonga islands are undergoing
a considerable change, both in respect to religion
and politics; and if the communication
between Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and
between both places and Tonga, should remain
closed for a number of years, it would be a curious
inquiry, to investigate what changes the
language will undergo in those respective places.

793 In regard to the priests, their habits are precisely
the same as other persons of the same
565 rank; and, when they are not inspired, all the
respect that is paid to them is that only which
[634 is due to their private rank. Mr. Mariner recollects
787 no chief that was a priest: he has,
indeed, seen the king inspired by Taly-y-Toobo

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

that obscures the understanding of the Tonga 782
people is surely that which prevents them see- 755
ing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this 796
practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), 766
used to be performed upon the chief widow of 768
Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, 178
that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else
178 none that was of so high a rank as to take the
charge of his household, and be the mistress
over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooi-
768 tonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and
sister of the present) was not subjected to this
178 inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the
634 late and present king. When old Finow was
living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died
before his wife, she should not be strangled:
"What," said he, "is the use of destroying a
"young and beautiful woman? Who is there
"dares say that the gods are merciless and
"cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king
came into power, and we have already seen
that he not only did not allow his sister to
be strangled, but he also did not permit another
[784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was
whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at
least of every considerable chief, undergoes this
ceremony on the death of her husband. (See
Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the
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602

535 As among the ancient Greeks it was thought
565 inconsistent with the character of a gentleman
533 not to know how to strike the lyre, so among
the Tonga people it would be considered a mark
of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the
graceful, manly, and expressive movements of
this dance.

The night dance called *oóla* is a very ancient
535 one in Tonga, though borrowed no doubt
177 originally from the people of the Navigator's
[565] island (Hamoa). This dance was formerly
only adopted in the Tonga islands among the
[178] lower orders of people; but of late, some
Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so
pleased with the superior gracefulness of the
oóla, which was danced there, that they afterwards
brought it into fashion among the higher
classes in Tonga, with many improvements and
graceful embellishments borrowed from the
former place: since which, the *oóla* of Tonga
is grown quite out of use, even among the lower
orders, though it was once danced in Mr. Mariner's
time, by order of the present king, on
purpose to contrast it with the *oóla* of Hamoa;
but it was a very awkward exhibition in comparison
with the Hamoa refinements, and probably
535 will never be introduced again. There
are no particular figures in this dance different
from what have already been described in the

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

REMARKS ON THE GAZETTEER

In compiling the list of Tongan place names, the following information, 128 when available, is recorded: (1) the feature to which the name is applied; (2) the group of islands in which the feature occurs; (3) the island on which the place is located; (4) the village near which it is located; (5) the name of the landlord; (6) the meaning of the name; and (7) miscellaneous data.

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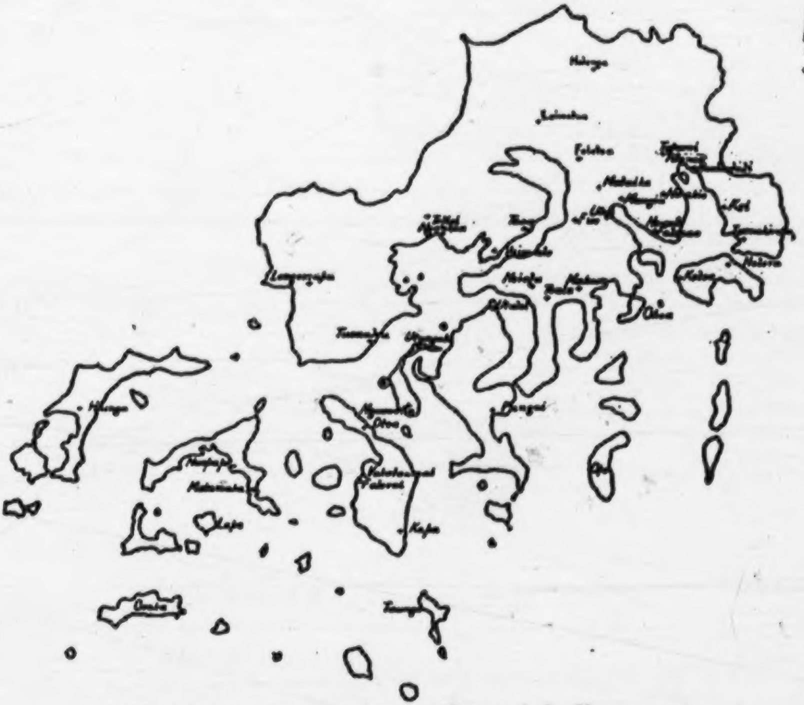

Figure 1.—Outline map showing the villages of the Vavau group.

In the Gazetteer the largest number of names are of tracts (*api*) and village tracts (*apikolo*) and were obtained from the Tongan land office records. The tracts are the farm lands of the population, and each tract listed is today held by a Tongan tenant. Most of the tract names seem to be ancient. Not so the village tract names, many of which are of foreign countries; for village life in Tonga is only a century and a quarter old, the population formerly dwelling scattered over the land. Civil war,

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[127]
[423]
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[103]
[241]

convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are 361
probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and 178
for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village 241
from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided
on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the
extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names 103
listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning 128
of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is
an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names [127]
in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native.
These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where
it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced,
and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than
one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings 103
of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative.
The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some
event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places.
Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will
increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or 423
irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered [103]
that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population.
It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all
some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the
ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the [128]
absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord.

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear 174
of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and 103
there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the
place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehake. I believe, however, 121
that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly
valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed 128
from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly
the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near
several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east.
The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting
point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and
cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of 104

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TALES ABOUT THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Tales concerning the line of Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, now occupying 643
the Tongan throne, are not numerous. This is probably due to the fact [538]
that the Tui Kanokupolu family was in origin a collateral branch of the [178]
Tui Tonga's family, which arose in the seventeenth century. It lacks the hoary antiquity of the Tui Tonga dynasty. Its lateness precludes its being enshrouded in legend.

I have but two versions of a single tale to present. They bear the 128
earmarks of authenticity, although I have been unable to learn to what 539
Tui Tonga the heroine was married.

TUUTANGA AND KINIKINILAU[illegible] 539

The scene of this tale is Tafaata, a tract on the island of Nukunuku- 173
motu (near Tongatabu). 644

The daughter of Atamataila, the second Tui Kanokupolu was called 643
Tuutanga. One day she was being carried in a litter along the shores of Nukunukumotu, having been brought from Hihifo (in Tongatabu). She was being transported to Mua (in Tongatabu) where she was to become the bride of the Tui Tonga.

As the lady and her attendants reached Tafaata, Kinikinilau, her lover, 539
was standing there. He signaled Tuutanga by throwing to her a fruit of 173
the pandanus tree, sharpened like a tooth. Tuutanga picked up this fruit 644
and knew that it had been thrown by Kinikinilau. She ordered the bearers to put down the litter and she went to meet Kinikinilau. Kinikinilau told Tuutanga that when she arrived at the Langi (literally, the sky, but here meaning the Tui Tonga), she must remember Tafaata, their last meeting place.

Tuutanga returned to her litter and was carried to Mua. There she 539
became the Tui Tonga's wife. After a time she conceived and gave birth 173
to a son who was named Tafolo. 644

After bearing the Tui Tonga a son, Tuutanga returned to her old 643
home. She could not forget Tafaata until she became pregnant to Kinikinilau. When her pregnancy was made known to the Langi (the Tui Tonga), the word went forth from the Langi that if she gave birth to a man-child, he was to be named Paku and was to become the Tui Tonga's fisherman. A male child was born and so named. Fakafanua, noble of Maufanga, is a descendant of Paku.

[illegible] Told by Taani, mayor of Nukunukumotu, Tongatabu group.

539 773 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's sisters.

775 [607] 8. The literal translation of *taahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term, used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama, tamasii* (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

[845] [192] 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife. Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

[126] 10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article. It is provisionally translated "my."

[192] 539 773 775 361 11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolomatokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomenclature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identification. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-day education and religion.

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 773 192 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite unknown to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei mangamanga* is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[843] 1.. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking. She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina *oku tuitui a ki he atu.*

2. *Ko Vaihi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. Fatailangalanga, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis* ?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster of gleaming hala.

539 773 4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands, are also called Kapala (21).

[103] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Foou, as spoken today, has been modified by the language of the main part of Tonga.

[133] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Foou afford little accommodation for boats. The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamauluau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluau." The hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakihahau."

2. The probable translation of Keuiafanafana is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] [195] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kamosia* stands *kanosia*, a word which I do not know. I conjecture that *kamosia*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun meaning gathering place of companions.

ARTIFICIAL MOUNDS AND PLATFORMS

CLASSIFICATION

172 34 128 Most ancient Tongan structures of mound or platform type may be classified as belonging to one of four groups: (a) *esi* mounds; (b) pigeon mounds; (c) house platforms, and (d) grave mounds. A few mounds with strong individual peculiarities and a few difficult to identify are, for convenience in presentation, treated as one group, (e) unclassified mounds. In this class are included the very rare stone walled house mounds. In general, this classification is based both on purpose, as recorded by tradition or determined by history, and on structural form. Purpose seems to have determined basic peculiarities in form.

ESI MOUNDS

172 345 [565] An *esi* mound is essentially an area (usually in the form of a raised platform) reserved as a place of resting or siesta for members of a particular chiefly family, or for a particular member of a chiefly family. It was situated at a favorable point commanding a splendid view or frequented by cool breezes, or at a natural resting place intermediate between two important [565] stations of a long journey. The use of these mounds seems to have been connected with the idea, prevalent in Tonga, that the exalted social position of the chieftain should be accompanied by material exaltation, and also, that social superiority involves the privilege of isolation from common contacts.

345 [178] [643] The use of *esi* mounds has survived, to some extent, as a modern complement to ancient tradition. At Vaini, Tongatabu, a rectangular platform which consists of concrete walls enclosing earth and sand, is the *esi* of King George I Tupou, built at his command in the nineteenth century. Small *esi*, consisting of prone coconut logs disposed to retain fills of sand, were observed at various places on the island of Tongatabu and were reported to be in regular use.

345 172 There are two radically different structural types of *esi*, the rectangular and the circular. The most common form is the rectangular platform, of which the poorest are those with retaining walls of coconut logs, perhaps the primitive type. The best examples have retaining walls of dressed stone slabs and attain imposing dimensions. The circular structures, with few exceptions, are retained by walls of undressed stones piled roughly one upon the other, converging toward the top of the mound.

Rectangular platform *esi* were seen in all three of the island groups which constitute Tonga and the finest two circular platforms are in Vavau and Tongatabu—at opposite ends of the Tongan archipelago (pp. 11, 18). The

539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

[177] [178] The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the [821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

539 the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the
565 front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much further up
554 than does the ordinary *vala* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner
called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that
291 his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539 **539. Pule faaoa:** Rule violently seized.
642 Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions.
578 It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

539 **540. Talafono a Pakava:** Instructions of Bakava.
622 Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people
565 that they must not eat the *tava (Pometia pinnata)*, a pleasantly flavored
626 edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 [The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose
hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the
178 Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

539 **541. Faka-Pangai:** Pangai fashion.
643 Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and
644 there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear
431 this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When
presenting food to the Tui Kanokupolu the donors would desire to make
103 their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

539 **542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai:** It's a different cock that is
643 crowing in Pangai.
644 Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his
103 court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan
183
521

group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association 643
with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no 539
right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. 644
The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a 103
rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to 183
keep silent. 521

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way. 539

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general 103
name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the 823
district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and 643
whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a 183
paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho 539
yet in want of rich food (literally fat). 643

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui 261
Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great 511
chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal 539
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry. 829

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began 183
with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, 565
smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty 554
chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, 643
claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui 644
Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui 565
Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however
to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui [178]
Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

643 more into the hands of great lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu of Western
644 Tongatabu. The decline of prestige which inevitably follows sooner or
565 later on that of real power was already apparent before the coming of
178 the Europeans and Christianity hastened the political changes which have
almost completed the process.]

539 **546. Hala o Taanea:** Way of Taanea.

576 This is an expression used by one in claiming for himself, not arro-
554 gantly but almost apologetically, a place or right from which he has been
276 formerly debarred. Different tales are told of the origin of the phrase. One account says that there was a great warrior called Taanea who had no seat in the kava ring until at last he went to a kava ring and with the customary word of apology, much like the English "Excuse me," merely sat down in the circle. Another account refers the name Taanea not to a man but to the place Taanea in Vavau. According to this story a Tui Tonga who was living in Vavau was one day being borne along in his litter and came to a place where a man named Fukofuka was digging. Fukofuka left his work and took a place among the Tui Tonga's bearers and went right on without a change till the party reached the cemetery at Taanea. The Tui Tonga then thanked him for keeping so long at this task without a rest and told him to run, and that he could have as much land as he ran round without stopping. Fukofuka, notwithstanding his previous labors, completed the circuit of a large piece of land which the Tui Tonga duly gave him. This is said to be the reason that the chief Vahai holds Taanea, for Fukofuka belongs to a younger branch of the Vahai family. Fukofuka, apparently when he returned from his run, found the Tui Tonga drinking kava and was given by him a seat in the upper part of the circle (*alofi*). Fukofuka, with the appropriate word of apology, passed to his place. So anyone going to a place or claiming a privilege to which he is not strictly entitled may say "Way of Taanea," as a sort of apology.

539 **547. Ka i Mua:** Speaking in Mua.

565 Applied to one who is expert in the procedure of ceremonies, dances,
554 and other functions. He is a man of sufficiently chiefly rank to be among
555 the important people in the chiefly town of Mua, a name most often used
[103] for the important village in Eastern Tongatabu associated with the Tui Tonga, but which is also a name of the chief town in a country. Applied generally to one who is very skillful in anything; it is only to be expected that so-and-so should be proficient.

539 **548. Nofo i he api Moli kae fu hala:** Living in the compound
644 called Moli yet clapping wrongly.

535 The compound called Moli was a residence of the Tui Tonga and was
276 of course a center for the practising of dances and for all the ceremonial connected with the kava and such matters. In some dances time is kept by clapping the hands, and in kava drinking the person whose name is called to receive the cup that has just been filled claps his hands to indicate his position. Clapping, therefore, is used in this expression as a type

temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children 805
do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this
generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becom- [178]
ing common. Government requirements of registration and the [659]
practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead natur- [217]
ally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods 561
which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at 858
the breast), then *mavae* (weaned). This latter word however does [853]
not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood
by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast.
though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in
the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing
to stand), *akoako haele* (learning to walk), *haele* (walking), *lele
holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but
left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and 858
women. A general word for boy is *tamajii.* As he grows up he is 562
talavou jii (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tan-
gata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (mid-
dle-aged man), *fatu tangata motua* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai*
(old, literally weak), *veetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting him-
self on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may
be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *unu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine*
(general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii*
(little, young, young woman), *fefine* (general word for woman),
fatu fefine (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the
necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fefine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua.* 562
These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a 885
woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate compara- 805
tively recent events; for example, a man may say that such a war
was fought when his father was a young man. More remote
occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

000 Outrigger. On the port side six booms connect with the float in typical manner (fig. 177. *a*), with the addition of a strengthening withy brace attached on one side of each set of connectives. This withy runs obliquely upward and inward from its distal attachment near or to the lower end of one of the inner stanchion connectives to be lashed to the boom at a point well inside of the attachment of the upper end of the same stanchion. (See fig. 179. *c*.)

A stringer is lashed fore and aft over the booms and under it are lashed the outer ends of six short pseudo-booms which do not connect with the float.

The booms are lashed upon the edges of the washstrakes with the attachment further strengthened on each side by an oblique sennit brace lashed above around the boom outside of the hull, and below through holes in the side of the dugout underbody. As the offside washstrake is slightly higher than that on the outrigger side, the booms slant downward toward the float; this enables the stanchions to be made shorter than if the booms were horizontal.

Rig. Each of the two masts is stepped in a socket in a circular boss on the bottom of the underbody and of one piece with it.

Formerly each mast was lashed against the after side of one of the booms, but today it passes through a median hole in a stout thwart lashed to the gunwales. The fore mast is stepped well forward and immediately abaft the foremost boom, the second mast behind the fourth boom.

This sailing canoe is used only within the lagoon and is said to load three tons of copra.

TECHNICAL TERMS

Aioka: withy brace to attachment.
Ama: float, outrigger side of canoe.
Ekengaulu: large double canoe.
Iekelima: large outrigger (five-man canoe).
Kaukau: outrigger boom.
Katea: off or starboard side.
Kiato: stringer across booms (the usual Polynesian term for "boom").
La: sail.
Mua vaka: forward end of canoe.
Muli vaka: after end of canoe.
Oa: washstrake.
'Oe: paddle.
Puke: forward end cover.
Talamoko: diamond-shaped boss on end cover.
Tata: bailer.
Tau ama: outrigger stay.
Tila: mast.
Tila lalo: boom of sail.
Tila lunga: yard of sail.
Tukuku mua: fore stay.
Tukuku muli: after stay.
Tutuki: stanchion connective.
Vaka: canoe or hull.
Vakalua: double canoe.
Velo: after end cover.
Wawa: sheet.

For the foregoing particulars of the Pukapukan canoe I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Gordon Macgregor, ethnologist of the Templeton Crocker Expedition.

TONGAN ARCHIPELAGO

501 At the present time the only surviving sea craft of indigenous origin in Tonga are numerous small dugouts (*bobao* and *tuingutu*) used in inshore fishing and a few plank-built sea-going canoes (*tafa'anga*) employed exclusively in the bonito fishery. [171] All are provided with single outriggers having indirect attachment; the small dugouts are in general more roughly constructed than their Samoan equivalents, the *paopao* and the *soatau*. The *tafa'anga* is the counterpart, save in outrigger attachment, of the Samoan *va'a alo*. [178] Larger vessels were formerly numerous but all are now non-existent. They comprise the following:

1. The ancient *vaka* type of voyaging outrigger canoe in use before intercourse with Fiji in the latter part of the eighteenth century caused its displacement by:
2. The modern *vaka* or *hamatafua*, a large and stoutly built sailing outrigger canoe, constructed on the lines of the Fijian *thamakau*.
3. The *tongiaki*, a double canoe of the same type as the Samoan *va'a tele*.
4. The *kalia*, a double canoe of Fijian origin and design which displaced the *tongiaki* during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Another extinct type is the *vaka-vaka-anci*, an antique float or raft of peculiar design.

Each end for a length of about 12 inches is solid. The intervening space between each of these solid regions and the near-by boom is usually decked over with transverse planking, the innermost board with a mast hole in the center, an arrangement which permits the canoe to be sailed either end forward; this is associated with a float sharp at each end. The rig in use is, [177] however, derived from a European type; no canoe is now rigged in the manner current at the [178] time of the discovery of the islands. In one canoe a wide triangular platform, nearly equilateral, covers each end of the hull, the lateral angles projecting outboard a little distance; this platform is to give footing to the fisherman when spearing fish.

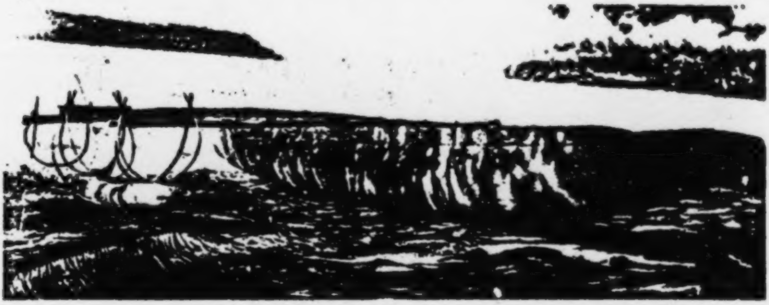

FIGURE 183.—Tongan inshore canoe (*tuingutu*) of Vavao with three booms, each with two pairs of U connectives, typical of the Vavao attachment (photographed in 1925).

In some small canoes the central space or well between the booms is surrounded by a box-like structure consisting of two long side boards, forming rude washstrakes connected at the fore and after ends by a transverse board or breakwater. In the larger ones with three booms, the washstrakes are more typical and extend nearly the whole length of the hull; they are generally closed in at each end by a low transverse breakwater. (See fig. 184.)

Two or three thwarts rest loose upon the edges of the dugout hull at its junction with the washstrake.

Most of the smaller canoes, 16 to 18 feet long, are provided with two straight outrigger booms, fitted horizontally, and the larger, ranging from about 20 to 30 feet in length, with three. The booms may either be slender *toa* (*Casuarina*) poles or somewhat stouter bamboos.

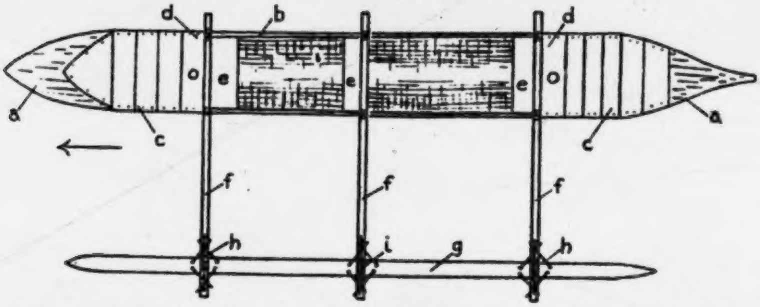

FIGURE 184.—Modern Tongan *tuingutu*: *a*, solid ends; *b*, washstrakes; *c*, cross planking covering space between each outer boom and adjacent solid end of underbody and nailed upon edges of washstrakes; *d*, mast thwart at each end enabling outrigger to be kept to windward on any course; *e*, loose paddling thwarts resting on edges of underbody; *f*, booms; *g*, float; *h*, stanchion connectives; *i*, horizontal rod holding stanchions in position when outrigger is dismantled, when in use lashed upon upper side of boom.

501 177 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

[181] It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U Attachment

[184] Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

501 171 This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

[484] There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 54-55). 501 177 178 Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settlements in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga.

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anga* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the 501
form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although 178
a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side [171]
of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent
an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U attachment.

On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into 501
Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. 171
In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single 177
U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *orembai* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands: in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the float by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source.

The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end 501
of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* 175
(Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several [178]
excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook himself [177]
exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook
visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each.

Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tafahi (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

> [The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some [284]
> distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were
> secured upon the edges [one on each side]; across these [washstrakes] small beams were laid
> [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made
> watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. Toward the fore part of the starboard [285]
> hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail: this was of
> matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . . [283]
> Their cordage was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.]

Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

> The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever [171]
> the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *va'a-alo* aboard

PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of a two-month visit to Tonga 114 101
during the summer of 1938-39. Some seven weeks of this
time were spent in the village of Pangai, Vava'u. We lived 122
in a Tongan-style house built for us in the middle of the 114
village. One of us could speak Tongan with fair fluency.

We do not claim any measure of completeness for our 121
study. It is quite obvious that in the time at our disposal,
completeness was unattainable. But we do feel that our
observations on various aspects of village culture have as
much objectivity as is usually claimed by students of society.
We also feel that it is worth putting on record something of
the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified
society. Previous description of this society has not always [114)
made it clear whether the reference of social custom or fact
is to the society as a whole or to the life of a chiefly class only.

It should be emphasized further that what we describe 121
refers specifically to the culture of this village as it is 177
believed and lived today. We have not tried to winnow the
chaff of post-European borrowing in order exclusively to
present the wheat of a now far distant aboriginal culture.
This would be difficult to do and hardly worth the trouble
insofar as Mariner and Gifford, separated by more than a
century of time, have already given us studies of this pre-European culture that are models of their kind. With these
or similar studies as a sort of base line, the need today in
Tonga, as indeed in many another Polynesian community,
is for extended analyses of present-day culture in action.
Only by these analyses and the comparisons they make
possible will the student gain insight into many of the
problems of culture-contact and resulting culture-change.
Since we have at this time opportunity for culture-description 121
only, we have left aside for the moment and for the 177
most part any extended study of the process of historical
change as it has affected Tongan culture. For the students 178

121 of Mariner, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford, and other writers
177 on Tongan ethnology, however, the results of cultural change
178 and cultural stabilization will be implicit in all that is
described in these notes.[1]

121 Two further points may be noted here: First, all our
descriptions refer directly, unless otherwise mentioned, to the culture of one commoner village, the village of Pangai. How typical this village is of other small villages throughout the Tongan kingdom we have no means of knowing directly, nor of stating with precision. We suspect however, that taken in very general terms, Pangai is fairly typical of other commoner villages where there is no high chief or noble in residence and where there is about the same measure of isolation that characterizes Pangai. More than this it is hard to say without more investigation.

121 The second point we would stress is this: Despite years
177 of contact with an invading western European culture,
182 village culture has adapted itself with very considerable
success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life. Some are accustomed to think that contact with a white culture always brings decay and disorder to a pre-literate culture. There is ample evidence from other parts of Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from American Indian tribes, that this cultural disintegration often occurs under these conditions. In Tonga, however, it has not occurred: and Tonga is by no means unique in this connection, even in the South Seas.

But why destruction of native culture sometimes occurs and why at other times it is possible for a people concerned to elaborate a new culture that blends old with new in a reasonably harmonious fashion, is a problem that has as yet been only noted, not carefully studied with the closeness
121 that it deserves. In this monograph we have no theories to
advance, thinking it better at this moment to describe the present-day stabilization of Pangai village-culture with as

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[113] [1] An adequate bibliography of material bearing on Tongan ethnology is given in Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *B. P. Bishop Museum, Bull.* 61, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, 351-353. References to this work throughout this text are given as Gifford, *Tongan Society*.

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when 132
the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees 731
have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic 621
unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief
source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of [628]
course, continual coming and going between Pangai and
other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year 574
when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population 628
in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, [162]
congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with
relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few 871
youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital 484
and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170
miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or [505]
more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai
for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in
Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely 484
make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they 574
stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits
to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2),[A] sketches the lay-out 361
of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 423
acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of 368
European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-
square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-
style architecture. The school-house is a small frame
building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor.
The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the
school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands
empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are 366
again small frame buildings with large copra-drying plat- 417
forms and small copra storehouses alongside. 343

The style of house common in the village is also 342
indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72
per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European [177]
frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style
houses are built according to old-time native practice with [178]
coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

[A] [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

342 few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls
[178] and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage
of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are
costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage
of being generally free from insects and will stand against
all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were
[177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style
frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess
[185] just such a house before they die.

343 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent
514 cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots.
These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert
as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical
312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete
cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent
dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking
and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement householders
who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water
from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns
are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most
[164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means
an unknown disease.

361 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village
342 limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its
owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the
village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may
[178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the
population lived in the plantations rather than grouped
together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan
361 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since
565 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central
178 authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the
subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the
177 traders.

361 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that
lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By
491 "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is
called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a
narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or
horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick
in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

and 2 in Tongatapu. Those in Tongatapu do not cultivate their plantations but retain control of them as long as rent is paid. They presumably continue to pay rent because they at some time hope to return to Pangai to live. The 26 other non-Pangai residents were either at one time resident in the village or have inherited plantations from relatives. They are generally cultivating their plantations or else are using them for the production of copra. 423 [427) [241)

The grouping of the numbers in Figure 1^A generally follows the topography of the island. Where the numbers are close together, the land is flat, fertile and easily cultivated. Where the numbers are widely separated as at the left of the map, the land is rocky or broken or infertile. To the right of the map where there are no numbers on the island, the land is controlled by the village of Utulei. 423 133

Although Pangaimotu is Royal estate no tribute is now paid by the villagers to the Queen in the way of a first-fruits offering. When the Queen comes to Neiafu on a visit, or should she at any time pay a visit to the village, special gifts of fine mats, bark cloth, pigs and food, are made to her by the people of Pangai. On a visit to Vava'u the people would honour the Queen in this fashion. The people occupying the lands of a Royal estate, however, would expect to make gifts greater in quantity and value than the general populace. 423 643 651 431

The modern pattern of the villager's control over a small acreage of land through annual payment of land tax may superficially appear to represent a great change in aboriginal patterns of land ownership. Closer study, however, suggests that changes have not been great. The aboriginal commoner was a tenant farmer, working land granted to him by a feudal chief, paying to this chief a " rent " in produce, liable in theory to be dispossessed of his " rented " land at the will of his chief. Today, the ultimate owner of all land in the Kingdom is the Tongan government which has made land grants to Royalty and nobles. Land taxes are paid to the government representative. The Crown passes on these rents to the noble concerned if they come from his estate and keeps them for government use if the land is Crown property. The villager therefore no more owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A 423 651 427 178

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

423 former produce " rent " or tribute is now paid in tax money.
651 Present day security of occupancy is probably for many
429 Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or
caprice of a high official was the only fiat that counted. But
178 in general, the villager has the same type of occupancy-status
claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old
system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 As with all other peoples, the villager organizes
[621] according to a fairly definite pattern in order to get various
types of work done. There is a major division of labour
within the village on the basis of sex. This division is outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—DIVISION OF LABOUR

WORK OF MEN	WORK OF WOMEN
Cultivation: preparation of land, planting, hoeing, harvesting.	Cultivation and copra-making (when help is needed).
Bringing food, firewood, copra from bush to village.	House-cleaning, clothes washing, sewing, care of children.
Collecting, husking coconuts, copra-making.	Coconut oil making, preparation of cigarette wrapping leaf.
Feeding animals, butchering, preparation of ovens.	Preparation of food for ovens, cooking.
House-building, thatching.	*Kava* making.
Canoe building.	Bark cloth manufacture.
Sea fishing, reef fishing by spearing, netting.	Plaiting of fine mats, baskets, fans, roof mats, wall screens.
Care of dead bodies, undertaking.	Reef fishing, collecting of shell fish, seaweeds, edible reef creatures.
Leadership in religious activities.	Collecting stones for ornamenting graves.
Experts in bone-setting, medicines.	Preparation of medicines; giving medical advice.

Men are generally responsible for agricultural activities, women for domestic duties in the household, including mat-making, bark cloth making, and *kava*-making. Men carry on the more arduous types of fishing, while women confine themselves to fishing over the shallow waters of the reefs. Men prepare the ovens for cooking, women generally prepare the food that goes into the ovens. Care of dead bodies and leadership in religious activities are left to the men, while both men and women participate in native medical practices.

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[524]
[565]
[178] →

The degree of uniformity in the work of ten different men on one day is shown by Table 3 below:

TABLE 3.—WORK FOR ONE DAY

NAME	MORNING EARLY	MORNING LATE	AFTERNOON EARLY	AFTERNOON LATE	EVENING
Biukala	*Fono* meeting. Worked in bush. Ate boiled food.	Read. Slept until noon.	Hoed garden.	Church.	Visited. Ate. Played *lafo.*[9] Slept.
Tui	Fed chickens, pigs. Fetched food from bush. Went to Neiafu.	Bagged copra	Bagged copra.	Hoed garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Betelo	*Fono* meeting. Drank *kava* all morning.		Bush for food.	Cooked food.	Slept.
Lole	Ate cold food. Hoed garden.		Returned from bush.	Drank *kava.*	*Kava* party till 3 a.m.
Benny K.	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitor. Ate.	Prepared church-lesson.	Read Bible.	Church.	Played *lafo.* Ate. Slept.
Tevita	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitors. Prepared feast.		*Kava* all afternoon.	Ate feast.	Slept.
Potemani	Bush for food. Boiled, ate food.	Planted pineapples for friend.	Hoed garden.	Slept in bush.	Visited. Slept.
Beni F.	*Fono* meeting. Hoed garden.	Prepared bush oven.	Ate in bush.	Visiting. Church.	Drank *kava.*
Moala	*Fono* meeting. Cooked food. Slept.	Ate food.	Drank *kava.*	Church.	Drank *kava.*
Tuipulotu	Boiled food.	Hoed garden.	Slept.	Planted *taro.*	Visited. Ate. Slept.

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[9] The game of *lafo* is played by tossing coconut shell discs from one end of a mat to the other. Sets of discs for this game are hard to find in the village; there are two sets only among all the householders. They are in consequence highly valued and cherished. The game is infrequently played but greatly enjoyed when played. Formerly, the game was played only by chiefs, and commoners "caught playing this game . . . would be punished, perhaps even with death," according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 117). The fact that the game is played at all today by commoners is a good measure of some of the internal changes that have been going on within Tongan culture. The only reason why the game is not more frequently played seems to be group inertia. The coconut discs could be easily made if the desire to play were present.

services of the expert are called in. This fishing is planned 226
for the night of the full moon. Six or seven days before this (821)
time, the men of the village are called together by the expert.
Each man is asked to provide from ten to fifteen coconut-sheets.
During the day of the full moon, the men drive a
row of stakes across the exit to a wide shallow bay. To
these stakes the *pola* are tied, two deep generally being
sufficient. As the full moon comes up the tide will be high. (821)
The expert and others with boats float about inside the netted
area catching the fish that jump into the boats. The
remainder of the fishermen stand round outside the nets.
Calico sheets are fastened to the tops of the *pola* and as the
frightened fish try to leap over the obstructions, they are
caught in these sheets. The people make as much noise as
possible to frighten the fish. At a given signal from the
expert, made when the tide is quite low, all the fishermen
jump inside the closed arc and catch as many fish as they
can. This type of fishing is carried out from November to (221)
March. Huge catches are often made. The occasion is (461)
looked upon as one of great fun. Young and old join in the
sport, making as much noise as they can and enjoying the
frantic excitement as the trapped fish struggle from grasping
hands.

Large quantities of herring are sometimes caught by a
similar use of coconut-leaf traps together with the addition
of a fish-poisoning substance. This fish-poisoning is the (824)
crushed leaves and stalks of a shrub known as *kavahaha.*
A circle of coconut *pola* is formed. At a signal from the
expert fisherman in charge, the mouth of this circle is closed
by men who beat the waters and drive the fish into the trap.
Women round the circle throw the poisoning inside. The fish
quickly become stupefied and are easily caught.

Hook and line fishing is carried on from canoes by one
or more men. Trolling from a canoe is often successful in (221)
the months from September to December. Flying-fish
netting is not a known method of fishing today. Some men
in Pangai know the techniques for bonito-fishing and the beds
off Vava'u where there is more likelihood of catching bonito (178)
from December to March. But bonito-fishing is no longer
carried out. One informant mentioned Niuafo'ou as the only
place today where old Tongan methods of catching bonito
were still in use.

226 [285] Fishing with a fish-basket is still sometimes practised by a few Pangai men. Some four men in the village know the technique of plaiting this basket from the twigs and small branches of the *kavahaha* shrub (used also for fish poison). The basket is about six feet in diameter, three feet deep, with a narrow mouth. Whenever this basket is not in use, its mouth must be kept stuffed with leaves; otherwise it will catch no fish. The basket is used as follows: Stone sinkers and bait of sea-porcupine are placed inside. It is then dropped in about ten fathoms of water and marked by a float. After some hours, it is pulled to the surface with its enclosed load of fish.

226 262 [461] Of all fishing methods however, the one most used today in Pangai is that of reef-fishing by the women at low tide. Armed with baskets and sticks, the women wade slowly over the reef-shallows hunting for edible reef-creatures. There are at least sixty of these named creatures and plants that are eaten. They range all the way from seaweeds to shell-fish, from jelly-fish to octopus, from crabs to sea porcupines and sea-slugs. These reef-expeditions combine work with pleasure. A group of women and girls spend hours on end wandering over the reefs, chattering and laughing among themselves, stopping occasionally to eat a particularly fat and juicy sea-slug, returning at last to the village loaded down with heavy baskets of food.

226 178 [461] Compared with the numerous fishing-techniques and large bodies of fishing-lore that are known and used, even today, by some of the other Polynesian peoples, it is evident that for the Pangai villager fishing is largely a lost art. This would not apply to other Tongan villages where there is easy and direct access to adjacent fishing-beds. The Pangai man seems largely to have given up the effort to obtain fish in quantity. He greatly enjoys fish when he can get it, whether by his own efforts, by gift, or by purchase. Fishing today with him however, is a side-line activity. Most of his working time is spent in his gardens and cultivations.

BARK CLOTH MANUFACTURE

287 The making of bark cloth *(ngatu)* is a good example of the manner in which the men and women of Pangai combine to carry out a group-activity. Bark cloth still has

287 A group of say, sixteen women
will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark
464 cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided
571 among all the women who shared in the work. Each house-
461 hold tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth
(433) always on hand. This supply should last the household from
one to four years, depending upon the size of the household,
the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and
the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job.
287 There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today.
531 In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to
(435) five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the
required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their
(426) return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty
fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value
of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide
variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox
flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs
which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan
flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many
(178) women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils.
They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-
painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth
(386) give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today
some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less
(178) troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye
these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared
with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

285 The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

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291 [10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt"
(though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic
292 association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton
285 piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging
from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men
fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear,
with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and
[576] women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when
respect and humility require symbolization.

when respect is due to a superior. The materials are 285
pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Polynesian. [824)
The finest mats worn as *vala (ta'o vala fala)* are
very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by 285
six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements 294
to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman [461)
from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women [178)
seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these
mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value.
They are worn only on Sundays, special festive occasions or 285
when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept 292
in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. [428)
Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's
mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter.
Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a
length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa.* [283)
The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There
appears to be no single and specific technique for making
this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what
skill he has at his command.

As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is 292
likely that there will be developed some new material 178
through the use of which respect may be symbolized. 576
Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial
cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as
necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

EXPERTS

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village 463
no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by
the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing
the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work.
Some types of work however, require the leadership and
direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one
who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of
the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today
there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style
houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses;
one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers;
two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to 231
hunt them down. [857)

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to 224
make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are 262
abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in [223)
the village, a native of Niuafo'ou, shows any interest in these
as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by
knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers
has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for [825]
this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox [776)
was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly [784)
there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the [178)
flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason
for this attitude.

ECONOMIC EDUCATION

The growing child is inducted into the economic 868
activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the

in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning 871
as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here 873
again however, college life does not represent any particular (464)
break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are 873
expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations (528)
are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly 871
efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a 871
formal educational system has been one of the most effective 178
forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role 871
that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the 212
villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households 805
also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac- 213

262 [226] half of its meals. Women in the other households were apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much time on the reef.

[252] 439 [434] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 178 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 264 121 114 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and organization for production . . . there is first of all an over-valuation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

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[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

262 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light
264 "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should
eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a
121 day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably
114 also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved
by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking
178 food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

We apparently do not have comparable figures which
262 would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own
264 society during each day. One suspects that were this amount
121 known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then
114 the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

574 The various feast-occasions are mentioned through-
527 out this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle, where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

The village overseer, the
434 school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who
556 controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact
that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to
574 expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that
comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase
the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most
574 of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if
621 they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles
592 back to their household through gifts to close relatives.
571 Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though
a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating
431 of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be
paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from
one feast may actually change hands several times before it
is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this
chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then
pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an
outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will
434 produce greater changes in village life than the accumula-
556 tion of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use
178 of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change
is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

178 In considering the various aspects of craft-activities
and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one
sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a
decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance,
178 few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort
226 are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have
262 lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful
fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he
[202] had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to
buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable
[431] gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh
fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with
181 this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea,
noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going
823 people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also
868 in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within
[361] one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager. 181 823 868 [861] [171]

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use. 178 287

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and 178 252 [415] [177] 178 177 262

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177 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
262 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
[432] is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his
plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

178 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did,
181 especially where new methods and novel appliances are more
efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past
age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet
shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and
cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of
dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
respectable, provided only that the music and words are
[795] concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays
cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at
other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other
time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in
no tradition except that of their own making. All in all,
change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to
spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he
would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness
so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals
living together which uses the same cook-house for
[513] the preparation of common meals. Generally this group
uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be
necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different
groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological
groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten
types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

KINSHIP

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The structure and functioning of the Tongan kinship system has already been competently described by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 21-29). Just because, however, the functioning of the economic and social systems of village life is shot through and through with rights and duties based upon kinship relationships, it is desirable that some brief account should be given of the way certain kinship relations affect the everyday life of this commoner village. It should be noted that no attempt is made to present here the theoretical kinship structure. Our interest is in what use is made today of the more significant parts of this structure. Further material in this connection will be found in other relevant sections of this report, particularly in the descriptions of the life cycle (pp. 78-106).

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

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[601]
There is strong brother-sister avoidance in the village. In Tongan thought, this is conceived of as "showing respect" *(fakaapaapa)* for the sibling of the opposite sex. The respect is extended to include all those classificatory kin to whom the terms brother and sister may be applied, for example, cross-cousins. This respect is shown by the following observances: those who are considered brother and sister may not quarrel or gossip with or about each other; they may not sleep in the same house, drink of the same coconut, eat of the same portion of food; they may not wear each other's clothes, although the sister may handle and wash her brother's clothes. Formerly, they might not sit or talk together, only opposite and at some distance from each other. Formerly the sister avoided altogether her brother's house; today she may go to his house for food or come to the house when the brother is sick, provided she sits at a safe distance from the sick man. It is permissible today for the sister to show affection for her brother by "kissing" him when he is going off on a long journey or returning from one, as in the case of the sister who excitedly ran to "kiss" her brother, and as quickly withdrew, when he returned, after a dangerous journey by cutter, from school in Tongatapu. These attitudes begin at about the time when

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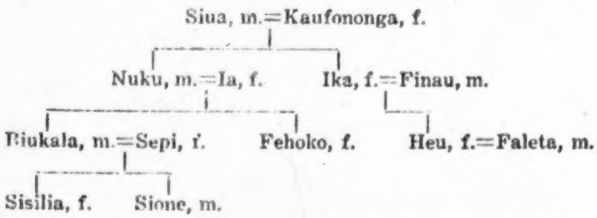
These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age. 593 602 145

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. 607 Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in [784] labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After [844] the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely [846] covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone [553] else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked 593 according to age and descent. Thus in the following 602 genealogy: 607 561 (601)



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may [178] be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl hence-
[602] forward observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is super-
881 cised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is per-
759 formed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little
feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to
be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of
his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and
simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoul-
881 ders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, be-
304 come a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
574 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity
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881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice.
881 Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe
178 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He
304 adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the
text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's
account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances.
Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today
this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr.
Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given
in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general
throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically
unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages
of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few
native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is
safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of
the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about
the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the
same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if
they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages
far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one
of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal
line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the
[574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made
about the operation.

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and 881
gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from 304
anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. 178
Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern 152
themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when 574
they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant 431
hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

832

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate [584] or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her 593
nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is 882
likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who 584
shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relation- 156
ship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations 836
are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some 584
excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself.

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala [583]
tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom.

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took 585
place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast 574
ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration.

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that 584
her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi 581
had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's (832)
beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little.

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of 584
village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic 178
love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

584 178 not interested in letting her marry the first man who chances to come along. The marriage itself, therefore, is decided upon, not by the young people, but by the older men of the two households. The two young people are sufficiently concerned with older Tongan ways not to cut an apparent knot by elopement and thus to anger their elders.

MARRIAGE

583 585 [588] From our household-census it is possible to present a rough statistical picture of the marital status of all the adults in the village. There are thirty-nine couples living together as man and wife. Of this number, thirty-five couples are married. The marriage ceremonies of these thirty-five couples are of two types. Civil- and church-registrations account for nineteen couples, civil- and church-registrations plus old-time Tongan-style celebrations of the marriage, account for the remaining sixteen couples. Of these thirty-five marriages, twenty-three are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twelve marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriage in this category and the number of each are: Single man with divorcée, two; divorcé with single woman, five; widower with single woman, three; widower with widow, two. Of these twelve marriages, therefore, ten are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. [586] [587] It is thus clear that a previous marriage terminated by death or divorce is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

586 [435] The cost of a divorce in Tonga is ten pounds per mate, or twenty pounds per divorce. This sum represents the amount that it would take an average householder almost two years to earn by cutting copra on his plantation. It is 586 588 only to be expected therefore, that many unhappy Tongan marriages end not by divorce but by an informal separation which allows the mates to set up unblessed unions with others 588 in like circumstances. If these unions become permanent, the mates are tacitly assumed by the villagers to be as-if married, the children as-if legitimate. The village attitude is more one of pity for misfortune than anything else. There is never any comment, scandal, or gossip about such unions.

582 and because of a considerable freedom in inter-village visiting, there is a strong tendency for mates to be chosen from villages other than Pangai. However, although mates chosen from local Pangai girls are in a bare minority, there are nonetheless frequent instances when Pangai men marry Pangai girls.

CROSS COUSINS

582 Cross-cousin marriage is not uncommon among the
565 chiefly and noble class in Tonga. There is no record of such
marriage however, among any of the married couples in
Pangai.[22] None of our informants in this commoner village
would ever entertain the idea that it was a possible pattern
of marriage-relationship. They all felt it impossible for
582 them, whatever might be the customs of the nobles, because
565 of the fact that there is strong kinship-avoidance from
602 puberty onward between those classed as cross-cousins, and
none would feel happy in breaking down this attitude of
605 avoidance in the intimacies of married life. This suggests
the point that cross-cousin marriage among the noble class
[152] might well result in acute psychological conflict brought
about by the clash of incompatible attitudes: a *tapu* on
intimacy between these cousins up to marriage, the necessity
of breaking down this *tapu* when marriage occurs. The
acuteness of this conflict would obviously depend on the
strength with which kinship-avoidances are inculcated in the
minds of the young, especially in the minds of those for whom
parents contemplated a cross-cousin marriage. Possibly the
culture elaborates some fiction to take care of this problem,
but there are no hints in the literature to suggest what form
582 this fiction might take. In any case, the culture of the
commoner can side-step such possible conflicts because of the
565 fact that it refuses to countenance cross-cousin marriage.

585
MARRIAGE CEREMONY

178 The patterns governing the marriage ceremony in the village today show a natural blending of the old and the new.

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[22] Cross-cousin marriage, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 16) "was practised, especially among people of rank." He adds that "such marriages were no doubt common . . . in the rank and file of the Tongan population."

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of
this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together
[602] at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs
[574] for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the
same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark
cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the
morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of
the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's
[574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he
presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for
her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's
bride.

Bride and groom are now considered safely and
585 successfully married. According to village pattern, they
833 have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary
position is the prone position with the man above. Less
frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on
the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and
[841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the
menstrual period.

The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may
585 often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom.
526 They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs,
mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not
been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment
may have to be made over many successive months after the
marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the
[554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of
food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations
incurred may often assume for the groom's household a
crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great
labour and planning before all the obligations are finally
cleared away.

So far the description has been in terms of formal
585 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may
178 now be presented to show both additions and limitations on
the pattern:

One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older
584 brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of
593 the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more
mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

585 [591] the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well illustrated. [833] Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 [581] It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the marriage. 584 561 178 Many young people today rebel against this domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. 584 583 178 Elopements and marriages without consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

when they are sure that high feeling has died down. The 583
groom's father will often give a small feast when the run- 593
away couple returns to Pangai. The bride's parents are [574]
generally much more angry, probably because they always
feel that a better marriage could have been possible for their 583
daughter. It is not uncommon for the bride's parents to 593
refuse to see either their daughter or her husband for two 606
or more years—and then to relent only when their desire to see their new grandchild becomes overwhelming. Even then, the first overtures to peace always come from the groom. It is hinted to him that the anger of his parents-in-law has abated somewhat. He secures the largest possible pig.
Accompanied by his wife, his child and his pig, he comes [431]
to Pangai and lays the pig down in front of his parents'-in-law house. If the pig is accepted, and it generally is, then reconciliation occurs and the young couple no longer find it inconvenient or uncomfortable to live away from their home village. Sometimes the parents of both bride and groom agree to celebrate the Tongan side of the marriage forthwith. At other times, they all agree to forget the past, thankful enough that at least the young people are married according to church-ritual.

It is hard to judge the attitude of the villagers to these 583
runaway marriages, or elopements, as compared with their 178
attitude to the more formal marriages. Some young people 829
are inclined to shrug their shoulders and say that the Tongan marriage causes fuss and trouble without adding anything to the validity of the marriage-contract. Older people however, and perhaps the more unthinking young still feel that there is an essential rightness about the Tongan customs and that it is not good to break with them even though one can be legally married without observing them. And certainly, if one's family claims any particular status in the village or enjoys some measure of respect, it would be unthinkable on the part of the elders that the younger members of the family should be married without feasting and gift-giving. One would expect considerable change in the future: generally a tendency for the young to take matters into their own hands, knowing that they need have no shame provided their marriage is church blessed; knowing also that in this way they save their families the expense and trouble of feast-preparation and gift-giving.

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
[602] the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
[767] cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
[782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
624 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
[784] to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
574 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other
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[178] [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

767 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His
554 left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be
264 eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife
252 or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 DEATH OF CHILDREN

766 An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named,
[845] or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in
[553] the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without
[767] benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for
858 five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's
593 house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's
603 mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

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[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a
[178] commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that
[784] after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

276 It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold
574 interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It
571 is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for
182 his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically
[535] vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted
*[178] the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor
[177] social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where
[794] opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes
them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might
[795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter
of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-
574 drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of
565 those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social
184 design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the
[171] *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among
[576] the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western
Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour. His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace. Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-sized basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He [123]
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his 177
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony, for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION

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The culture of the village as it functions today is a well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived from western European culture is hard to say with any

precise accuracy.[33] What is needed in this connection is the 177
development of some techniques whereby the student of 178
contemporary primitive cultures could express an index of 177
acculturation that would state concisely and adequately the 178
cultural level of the culture studied. This index would then
constitute a simplified way of describing the position of the 121
culture in question on an imaginary line whose polar limits would be aboriginal culture at one end and western European culture at the other end. If it were possible to establish such an index-expression for the various contemporary Polynesian cultures, we would have gone far in our understanding of what is meant by the processes of acculturation and culture change. This index might express theoretically either the number of aboriginal elements surviving in the present-day culture or else the number of new elements transferred from the carriers of the alien culture. This index-expression of the status of contemporary culture together with complete knowledge of the temporal order in which various elements of culture have been transferred from alien to aboriginal culture would then open the way for a more realistic attack upon the dynamics of the processes underlying the diffusion of culture.

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[33] For a brief consideration of the number and kind of cultural (113)
elements borrowed by the Tongans from western European culture,
reference may be made to Gifford, E. W., "Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1924, 281-292. This survey of Gifford applies to Tonga as a whole, particularly perhaps to present-day Tongan culture as carried by the Tongans of Nukualofa,
the capital. Many of the changes listed by Gifford obviously do not [184]
apply to small commoner-villages, as for instance, use of water- [365]
closets, automobiles, horse and cart, telephones, motion-pictures, typewriters, addiction to horse-racing and the like. Still other of the changes refer almost exclusively to the life of the chiefly class. References to the functioning of Christianity with its commandments *(tapu)*, the use of writing, and customs relating to tobacco-smoking, and eating, apply with fair accuracy to the culture of Pangai village.
When compared with village culture, Gifford's paper has some [184]
theoretical significance, however, in that it describes the results of [369]
culture-contact for the urban Tongan as opposed to the village Tongan. It thus gives insight into the dynamics of contemporary culture-change among two types of Tongan community. Reference may be made
in this connection to the methodological discussion in Redfield, R., (113)
Tepotzlan, A Mexican Village, Chicago, 1930, and the orientation to culture-contact among the Hawaiians in Beaglehole, E., *Some Modern Hawaiians*, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull. 19, Honolulu, 1939, 7-11.

At the present stage of technical development in the 177
social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed [121]
about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present
culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such
cultural elements as the following would come within the
scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that
there has been more cultural transference in the field of
material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even
with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be
drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from
the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are 177
cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But 262
compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such
imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day
eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods
for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process 177
of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importa- 252
tion of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than [415]
oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled
food much of the time, using the native oven whenever some-
thing a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique 177
of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, 264
and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is
still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, 177
the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How 178
much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any
simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There 177
is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from 291
European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All 178
the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for 292
most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have
borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a
skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style
of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary
occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of
the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with
a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up
for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost
invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and
shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

178 Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
177 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
342 of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
[343] cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
178 substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

When we consider social and economic organization,
177 answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treat-
178 ment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
[304] and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
[743] surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
771 relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

[113] [34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the 177
culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is 178
largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been 585
interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European (433)
culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian
ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a
Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely
to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that
appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity
because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage [581]
is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of
children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European [842]
cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and
planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan 177
practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan 178
midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and 764
at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception [844]
that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing
of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the
one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice,
before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was
buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously 177
informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment 178
of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the 871
content of this system are based on European models, the
language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever
changes are introduced into the village culture by the [212]
ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless
he is still viewing this culture through the medium of
his own native language. The basis of communication 177
within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and 178
language-patterns which are given formal structure by the 19

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[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him
because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was [626]
that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

177 178 19 aboriginal language. There have been additions to the vocabulary of this language to fit it to meet contemporary needs. There are also further changes in the usage of words which possibly indicate an initial break in the use of words to indicate relative social status. This is suggested by the fact that whereas in pure or classical Tongan, there are three sets of words which are used when talking to leading chiefs, middle chiefs, and to commoners, there is an apparent tendency in village speech today for villagers to use among themselves many words that would formerly have been used only in speaking to middle chiefs. There is no tendency, however, for villagers to use among themselves words formerly reserved for talking to leading chiefs.

177 178 This discussion of the difficulty of characterizing precisely the status of culture-contact in the village today may also be used to emphasize the fact that there are apparent lines of resistance-stability in the aboriginal culture on the one hand, and lines of pliability on the other hand which have influenced the course and probably the temporal order of cultural diffusion from European to aboriginal culture.[36] Changes are pronounced in marriage-customs but not in birth-customs, in the economic system but not in the language-system, particularly pronounced in the institutions of religion but not in medical treatment. Why there should be these lags in some institutions and not in others is hard to explain in almost every case. Certainly, in terms of efficiency and durability, cotton goods are superior as clothing to bark cloth. This together with Christian mission teaching in regard to bodily modesty might explain an early adoption of European clothing-materials. In the field of religion, it is also understandable in the light

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[36] Full discussion of this point would have to consider also the relation between relative rapidity of social change as the result of culture contact and the specific character structure produced in the Tongan by the culture of which he is the bearer. Thus it may well be that one of the keys to our undersatnding of Tongan social change and social inertia is to be found in a more thorough empirical knowledge than we have at present of the process of socialization as this develops within the Tongan the character structure implicit in Tongan institutional patterns. See, in this connection, the paper by Margaret Mead, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (1940) 14: 2, 92-109.

[113]

of the Tongan class-system how the conversion of influential 177
chiefs to Christianity would result in the conversion by order 178
or imitation of commoner-followers of the chiefs. And as soon as trader followed missionary to show how, by the production of copra, money could be obtained wherewith to buy the new clothing-materials, then this particularly close relation between religion and clothing would be established. This kind of explanation would not hold however, for an understanding of stability of native custom as regards medicine or birth- or death-procedures. One can only make a negative statement here and this to the effect that the three aspects of Tongan culture just mentioned do not result in behaviour that might conflict with the teachings of a Christian morality. Hence there has been no organized pressure to bring about a change of belief or behaviour.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of 177
language. In general, it seems to be the rule that when there 178
is close and long-continued contact between two cultures 177
there is a tendency for the language of the culture which is represented by a clear majority of carriers to become the language of communication between the two cultures and ultimately the language of the new culture that results from the culture contact situation. Hawaii and New Zealand may be compared with Tonga and Samoa. Hawaiian and Maori are of course still spoken languages, but they are giving way before the spread of English, the language of the culture of the majority. In Tonga and Samoa, Europeans still represent only a very minor fraction of the total population, and the native language still constitutes the functioning language of the present-day native culture.

In the study at this time of situations that result from 177
the contact of cultures, it is simple for the social scientist to 121
raise many more questions and problems than can possibly be answered with the empirical data now available. To collect these data we have need of both a contemporary and an historical study of any particular native society which has been influenced by processes of cultural transference. Ultimately it seems likely that the key to the understanding of what these processes mean and how they come about will lie in the cross-fertilization of social data by the results of modern psychological research.

648 suggestion did not occur—namely, that the "Honourable and Reverend" Shirley Waldemar Baker, First Minister of the king and the State Church, had fallen from his high estate, and had been removed from the little kingdom where he had so long ruled the natives for their good and his own profit.

The tongue of rumour was hushed at last. Suva awoke one morning to find the Red Cross fluttering from the signal-staff, and her Majesty's ship, ironically christened
[797] the Rapid, creeping slowly along the reef. Almost before the yellow flag had been hauled down the news flashed along the beach that Baker had indeed fallen, and could not again set foot in Tonga for two years on pain of imprisonment.

128 A sketch of the events of the last few years cannot be avoided, but it shall be a sketch in outline only.

797 When George Tubou became king in 1845 his people were in the white-heat of a conversion to Christianity.
[212] The missionaries had taught them to read and write, and
[671] to pass a simple code of law. They had imbued them with
797 envy of the dignity of civilised States,—their law courts,
177 their police, the uniforms and salaries of their officials,
178 and their other blessings of civilisation—including taxes. All these the Tongans might have if they were shown how to begin. For years there was no one to direct their nascent aspirations. Their teachers had no enterprise, and devoted themselves to the spiritual rather than the temporal needs of their flock; but at last with the necessity came the man. Mr Baker was a genius in his way. None knew better than he how to work upon the feelings of his congregation, or could better gauge the exact

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and independence 178
of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their meaning
was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the timber
for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [648]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
795

646 lands are not opened in bare legs save in the imagination
291 of Carlyle.

291 For days past the stores on the beach have done a spirited trade in trousers, coats, and shoes—not the sort of shoes that may be bought by the dozen at any bootmaker's, but majestic fabrics of leather, built expressly for the opening of South Sea Parliaments, upon a special last 14 inches long by 8 or 9 broad. Such shoes as these cannot be lightly used. And so the spiritual guides of the people, when teaching that no self-respecting Tongan should attend church without black coat and trousers, admitted the religious principle that a man might work out his salvation in bare feet, and the shoes were relegated to the meetings of Parliament.

The scene outside is very picturesque. It is high tide,
646 [133] and the sea laps to the very edge of the short grass that carpets the approach to the white Parliament House. The tall spars of the Cordelia tower above the spires of the miniature palace. The College students, dressed in white, are drawn up in two lines, so as to form a lane from the palace to the doors. The band and guard of honour look undeniably smart, both in their bearing and
178 the polish of their accoutrements. It is a strange con-
646 trast with the same scene as it is described by Labil-
[175] lardière in 1791, exactly a century ago, when Mumui held his *faikava* on Sion Hill, now crowned with a church, but then with those twenty-four funny little huts into each of which a Cabinet Minister crawled to sleep off the effects of the Court bowl. Those were dark days before the *lotu* had illumined the minds of men, and most of the actors in to-day's scene, booted and be-trousered, full of the

646 pride of progress and the *odium theologicum*, are heartily
178 ashamed of their forefathers. Truly missionary enterprise has worked great changes.

646 The House was filled long before the appointed hour.
Tukuaho had issued invitations to most of the traders.
Native ladies of rank, and a few of the chiefs who held
no seat, were accommodated below the gangway: men
and women of every shade of colour filled the benches in
front of them. It is an anxious moment for the newly-appointed Sergeant-at-Arms, Kubu's brother, Kalauta, who
is charged with the duty of finding room for every one.
[565] The "Representatives of the People" (as the Constitution
[645] calls them) are packed into the benches on the right side
of the House above the gangway; the Nobles on the left
behind the Treasury bench, where sit the Cabinet Ministers, headed by Goschen, who, in a naval frock-coat and
check trousers, gives a tone of elegance to the whole
[648] Ministry. The next front bench has with difficulty been
[644] reserved for the suite of the High Commissioner, whose
British uniforms are thrown into shade by the magenta
satin gowns that clothe the portly forms of the Princesses
643 Charlotte and Anna Jane behind them. On the crimson
646 daïs is the king's gilt chair; and beside it the royal crown,
the heaviest in the world, reclines upon its cushion supported by a three-legged table. The crown was bought
by the late Premier from some merchants in Sydney, and,
but for the verdigris in the flutings, might very well pass
for gold.

[533] The suspense is broken at last by the rattle of saluting
arms, and the blare of the Tongan National Anthem.
Kalauta shouts "*Koe Tu'i!*" and we all rise as the king

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175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
175 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
178 721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] [505] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

175 and it was not until the eighteenth century that any
177 but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for
178 distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had
313 run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after
305 joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining
him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their
share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger
craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their
own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of
86 their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to
565 Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education,
just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour"
was considered essential to the training of an English
gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish
habits and strange wares, which were admired because
they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke
of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the
175 useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray
177 a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal
186 ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved
178 lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul
appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain
enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges
of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the
comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy,
and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked
up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of
familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics
of his neighbours at something less than their proper

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value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse 175
with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political 177
situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their 178
enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal 186
ambition in a State controlled by so firm a central [642]
Government.

III.

THE REVOLUTION.

Tukuaho now became the central figure upon the stage. 175
In his morose and cruel temper, his unbending policy, 643
his tragic end, and the long years of bloodshed and misery that followed it, he stands out in the memory of his countrymen in lurid relief. About the year 1784 the Tui Tonga, Pau, who had so hospitably entertained Captain Cook, died, and Tukuaho immediately seized the estates claimed by his widow on behalf of her son Mau-ulu-beko-tofa, who was still a minor. Her resistance was useless, and she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. It was the first sign of the waning power of the Tui Tonga, and the growing assumptions of the high temporal chiefs. Tukuaho's motive was doubtless to seize upon a conspicuous place and secure to himself in due course the reversion of the office of Tui Kanokubolu. About 1790 Finau Ulukalala died, and was suc- 175
ceeded by his brother under the same title. The younger 643
634
Finau was Tukuaho's only rival for the leadership of the young party, and he, being occupied with the affairs of

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[1853]

175 643 648 721 dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes' hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would have fallen, and the cession of the country to England, which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken place. 175 643 648 [797] Before leaving the group, King George made a tour through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this expedition may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

175 643 648 797 After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Republic, to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad while ignoring her claims at home.

175 797 642 177 178 To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

[1853-1862]

of the Palace, having persuaded his own patron to bow 175
down before the freedom-god, wrote a flattering letter to 797
the Tongan missionaries to enlist them in the same holy 642 177
cause. The king, to his credit be it said, long resisted, ob- 178
jecting that his people were not ready for such reforms; [643]
that, though in Sydney it might be well to curtail the power of the chiefs, the Tongans would use their new liberty for the indulgence of their natural idleness. But in 1862 he was over persuaded, and a Constitution was granted which swept away the form of government which had taken centuries to elaborate, and substituted executive machinery on the English plan. A system evolved from centuries of experiment to suit the needs of Anglo-Saxons was forced in a single day upon a handful of ignorant Orientals, with whose inborn convictions it was in complete antagonism. The *Konisitutone* became thenceforth the fetish of the Tongan people. Most of them did not know what it was, but it had been introduced by the missionaries, and was intimately connected, they believed, with its outlandish fellow *Konisienisi* (Conscience), and in some mysterious way it elevated their country to the
level of one of the Great Powers. It was not until after [622]
the feasting and the speech-making and the ecstatic ser- [565]
mons of the black-coated missionaries that the chiefs had time to realise that they had sold their birthright for a sheet of vellum, and that their power was gone. It was a heavy price to pay for being *sivilaisi.*

The power of the missionaries was now at its height. 175
The king had no other advisers, and it was natural that he 797
should rely upon them. The early indifference to their [643]
teachings had given place to an almost hysterical en- [645]

175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
177 to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
178 with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
291 devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they
714 taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the 161
population has been either stationary or decreasing—
slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of
epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent [164]
upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. [165]
In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough [164]
is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The [757]
mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required
to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses,
and content themselves with calling in one native
quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a
succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its
sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In 163
ancient times the women were required to do no work 462
beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating.
The men planted the food, carried in the wood and
water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so [797]
industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in [593]
most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the [178]
same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In
other respects they have greater liberty than under the
heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short 885
at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as 302
an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age 582
could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and
there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares
of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger
than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries.
This is all changed. Under the grim social 178
code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer 582

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178 582 moral tone allows a girl to prolong her independence to the limit set by time to her attractions, and she finds life so amusing that she defers marriage until the last possible 844 bridegroom has left her for a younger generation. Even after marriage she is at a disadvantage as compared with her grandmother, who could count in childbed upon the help of her female relatives, according to certain fixed rules, instead of having, as now, to receive help as a favour only. These reasons and the increased skill of the women in forbidden forms of surgery tend to a decrease in the birth-rate. To those who would know more of this subject, I commend the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the decrease of the native race in Fiji, 1893. The report, besides being interesting, is of high anthropological value.

[181] Though the Tongans are vastly particular about outward modesty, they cannot truthfully be described as an over-sensitive people. We halted one day for lunch in a small village at the back of Tongatabu. The house was filled with the notables of the place, and the children stared at us six deep through the crevices in the reed walls. There was a sudden cry of *fucle!* and in a few seconds we were left alone in the house. The children dashed off at the first cry, and after a decent interval our hosts made excuses one after another to leave the house. From the doorway I saw the whole population of the village thronging into a hut on the opposite side of the square. It was a birth.

A Tongan mother is delivered in a reclining posture, supported in the arms of her husband. There is no privacy,—the whole village is present. There is always a

648 that they would not be satisfied with a Protect-
orate, but would ask for annexation. I flattered
myself that I knew the little people too well to
believe the latter forecast.

As the white line of houses that marked the
361 capital grew in definition, I began to notice changes.
[344] There stood the palace and its church as trim as
[346] ever within the stone-walled compound, but to
[178] the westward, where a native could be seen
running up the British ensign, a wooden bunga-
low had replaced the picturesque old native-built
342 consulate. These had been prosperous years
178 with the Tongans; there was not a native-built
house to be seen; trim little weather-board
cottages had sprung up everywhere, and in the
vacant space beside the government offices of my
day there now stood a pretentious wooden build-
347 ing, the new House of Parliament. Naturally the
traders, who had had the erecting of all these,
had prospered too, and the line of stores on the
eastern side of the town were resplendent in new
342 paint. Two houses only in all the half-mile—
ruinous, rain-washed, and neglected—told their
own tale. They belonged to old Tungi and his
son Tukuaho, my dear lamented colleague; with
them and with their owners the years had dealt
unkindly, as I shall presently relate.

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of 776
a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean
information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the
best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old
pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair
idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with
other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in 778
some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too [368]
much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which [361]
one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the
population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. [178]
In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones,
pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with
yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully 778
preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the 285
same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished
mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the [825]
priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the
temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the
animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom
the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a 787
vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation
with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words 778
used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him [825]
signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material
objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This,
however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need
restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the 787
god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were [793]
others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to [753]
be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in
Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a
native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there
are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of
divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of
orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, 787
who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied
inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the 793
divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without
any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement [776]
is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of [154]

753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting 784 of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses [797] are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old [755] gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the [776] range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a 782 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in 755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw, and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were [601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over 782 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who 755 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an 178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of observation.

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure 794
where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, 209
but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on
the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit
either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point
to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by
its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a
ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add 195
that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential
language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga
and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the
constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the [178]
Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is 292
the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt.
This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the 576
fono, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the
will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a
great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals.
Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the
ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the 301
leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. 576
This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing
for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round [824]
the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and [516]
entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do
not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at
all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being
worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance
the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were 776
resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful
chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited 794
prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households
which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a 776
a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed.
The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augmentation
by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A 769
notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau.
In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or 769
at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." 734
For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends
sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion [762]
told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried
himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the 771

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that [177]
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness,
and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what
follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally
correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however
inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when
reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting
to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are
living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full
account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives
of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing
and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has
himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible
both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been
given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been
forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 that in any case the decay of the Tui Tonga kingship would have proceeded till a forceful personality established a new 797 dynasty. Had there not been the controlling contact with the great outside nations, and had the life of the man, to whom it fell to make the change, not been sufficiently long to consolidate firmly his power, the struggle would doubtless have been longer and bloodier. Had Christianity not put into Taufaahau's hands a powerful new weapon, he would still, perhaps, have tried to seize for himself some sovereignty independent of the Tui Tonga. A significant incident is related of him. Before his conversion to Christianity he carried off for himself the chief bride of the Tui Tonga, her, who should be the mother of the next Tui Tonga. This seems an emphatic declaration that he, Taufaahau, was to be the father of kings and source of sovereignty.

In the event the consolidation of the kingdom under 642 Taufaahau has been of inestimable service to Tonga. In 177 the momentous period when the island folk were falling to the lot of this or the other great nation, Tonga, saved from 178 the internecine strife of chiefs of equal power and claims, has moulded a constitution able to withstand the disintegrating shock of the outside world, and, alone of the Pacific groups, lives to-day happy and contended with its native kingship, in a partnership with Great Britain, which is equally honourable to the adaptability and sagacity of the little island kingdom, as to the good faith of the great protector.

Although I have left many obligations unrecorded, I 128 wish to express my indebtedness to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, and Mr. E. W. Gifford, to whose joint kindness I owe a copy of the Royal Genealogy.

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of 793
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The
present Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes 787
appears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts. where was formerly his sacred pool.
Convent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric
designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of 775
seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face.

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed 789
persons is still sometimes practised.

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his 775
connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. [795]
His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church.

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the " blood " of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing 763
vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. Today [178]
European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death.

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least 784
one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing 241
crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed
wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two 784
forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to [754]
cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut
leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa [789]
the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea.

Christianity with its Sabbath and various " shalt nots " 177
has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu 784
idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts.
For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various 744
islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the
medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 671

new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 177 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The 565
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 576
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 292
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all [634]
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appre-
ciably. Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more espe- 427
cially first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his land-
lord. In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice 423
was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's 178
territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made 425
by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries
of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at [428]
the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his [656]
inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest
to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office
had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent
years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by
others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming 361
the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling 177
one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of 178
the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to [166]
leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village
life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a
great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce
the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The [245]
copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut
trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate
the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country
of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying 241
distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his 311
eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial 178
to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has
become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent
chief is inducing his people to give up village life
and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural
fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems
likely that the next few decades will see a return to the
intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food 241
plants has been much enlarged by introductions. 178

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of 103
foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted
in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages
are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a 484
considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. [181]
His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel [823]
and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and
the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one
part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa
and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans' [178]

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea 484
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by 178
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connection
with sea travel still remains.

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans 501
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small 177
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable 178
force.

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing 538
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The 533
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examination of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top of a neighbouring island.

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in 177
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the 538
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowding 177
out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by 533
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the [545]
capital of Tonga.

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have 304
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an opera- 177
tion related to circumcision. When performed by a European [743]
doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes place at one of the government hospitals to which the patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the boys of to-day.

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa, 206
and, though primarily for the use of European residents, 177
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office.

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become permanently 546
established in Nukualofa, where there are two [177]
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small [571]

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing under- 177
taken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass 526
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to [439]
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

177
The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark de- 186
risively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as bar- [514]
barians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European 264
dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems
strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the
end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that
each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and 302
traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and
the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their [178]
old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still
freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi 273
(foreign kava). They are permitted only to the landholding [656]
chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners [565]
must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted 177
long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro- [141]
American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new
stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone [415]
pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed [276]
to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it
is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various 491
Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of 178
standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle 493
is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The [439]
Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits crosslegged
on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of
Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance.
They are the more numerous in the former island
where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving.
The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans [177]
are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar 501
for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. 342
Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular 177
thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be
of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not
affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native 346
architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga 177
and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of 436
acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 186
178

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

in Tonga in pre-Caucasian days, is strong to-day. The 186
limited outlook of heathen days has been replaced with an 178
appreciation of the position of Tonga as a recognized nation of the world, one with which the great powers have entered into treaty.

That Tonga will adopt Euro-American culture to the 000
total exclusion of her own is not to be expected. On the contrary it is to be anticipated that the hybrid culture of to-day will maintain its distinctiveness. Certainly, it will never become absolutely identical with any other culture.

Euro-American acculturation appears to have made 177
greatest headway in religion. Material culture has also been 178
considerably modified, though the underlying economic basis of life remains the same as in heathen days. Society has 177
been altered least. Some of the extreme developments, such as the arbitrary power of chiefs, polygyny, and the office of 178
Tamaha (held by the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga) have 571
been discontinued. but the fundamental organisation of society remains the same. It is in this department of culture that the greatest incongruity with Euro-American culture appears. We see the speech tabu between brother and sister [602]
and the *vasu* or right of the nephew to seize his mother's-brother's possessions flourishing side by side with Christianity and daily wireless news.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

132 temperatures 5° to 10° lower, and rainfalls 25 per cent to 50 per cent
smaller. Except in the Niuas, hurricanes are rare.

EARLIER SOCIAL CONDITIONS

175 Accounts of the social condition of Tonga as they found it have
been given by various European explorers, and particularly by Cook.
He describes a rather idyllic land, fertile, well-cultivated and well-
roaded, inhabited by an intelligent and friendly people, skilled in
175 husbandry, boatbuilding, and in the manufacture of tapa cloth. The
social organisation of the country was a simplified feudalism mixed
421 with elements of an earlier patriarchalism. A central government
631 exercised authority over the chiefs, who held land from the Tui Tonga
642 on feudal terms. In turn they allotted holdings to their people, exacting
from them fealty, labour, produce, and war service when required.
These allotments were not grouped around villages, but were more or
less uniformly distributed over the chiefs' plantations as fenced farms.
There were no limits to the demands a chief might make, but respect
for public opinion, and the complex blood relations between him and
175 his people prevented any serious and systematic exploitation. Cook, at
least, was impressed by the peaceful, prosperous and happy condition
of the Tongan people.

669 But this state of affairs was not to last. Tongan chiefs became
178 involved as mercenaries in the Fijian wars, and fired by their neighbours'
example, they plunged their country into half a century of civil strife.
165 Chiefs warred for independence or mastery. Prosperity dissolved
with peace, and a quarter of the people died through violence or famine.
In the general social chaos old institutions collapsed and new ones arose.
The old plantation economy gave way to villages as the people were
driven by the need for protection to group themselves around forti-
669 fications. Christian missions became established and the old Tongan
178 religion crumpled before their wholesome conversions. At first they
797 were a new factor of division in the heated contentions of the chiefs,
but in the end they helped to close the long agony of civil war, and
to build modern Tonga.

669 The outstanding personality in the last stages of the civil wars was
Taufahau, honoured by his people as the greatest Tongan. He pacified
643 Ha'apai and Vavau in the late thirties, revived their agriculture and
178 secured their conversion to Christianity. Appealed to for protection by
the Christians of Tonga Tapu, he invaded it. This led to the pacifica-

tion of the whole Kingdom and to his assumption of the powers and 643
dignities of a ruling monarch. France, Britain, Germany and the United 178
States soon recognised him as such, largely because the settled condition [669]
of his Kingdom removed the usual excuse for European intervention.
The remaining decades of his long reign were remarkable for a series 642
of reforms which transformed Tonga from a chaotic native feudalism 178
to a stable modern state. Serfdom was abolished, all land vested in the 641
Crown, and every male Tongan guaranteed a standard leasehold at a 178
nominal rent. The usual European civil rights were granted and a 642
parliament set up with representation shared among the Crown, the
people, and a newly created class of hereditary nobles. At the same 178
time the foundations were laid for a civil service and for a state education 647
system. Early in the present century a Treaty of Friendship and 658
Protection was signed whereby Britain guaranteed Tonga's defence 178
and independence in return for full control of her foreign relations, 648
exclusive naval facilities, and jurisdiction over Europeans. An amend- [647]
ment to the treaty obliged the King to accept the British Consul's
advice and veto in financial matters and in European appointments to
the civil service.

Contemporary Social Organisation

571

The core of Tonga's social organisation is the land system, for more 423
reasons than that farming is the only important industry. Land tenure
underlies social relations, influences social groupings, provides the basis
for a real economic democracy, and guarantees the people effective
social security. All land belongs to the Crown, but the Royal Family 423
and the Government do not directly control more than half of it. The
rest is parcelled into hereditary estates held by the thirty-three descen- 423
dants of the nobility, and by six hereditary matabules. These gentry, 565
strictly speaking, have only a life interest in their estates, but lineal [428]
inheritance is invariable, estates reverting to the Crown only if there
are no lawful heirs.

From the economic aspect they are mere rentiers, for the Crown 423
reserves all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants, controls 656
all leases, collects all rents, and even prescribes the area a noble may
retain for his own use. The old feudal rights have all gone, and today 423
a noble's authority is limited to the rights of consultation in regard to 565
tenants, of ordering outsiders off his lands, and of holding fonos, or 178
compulsory gatherings of tenants to hear announcements and orders.

565 Even these meagre powers have declined with the appointment of
178 town officers, a class of officials who are responsible to the Premier
[624] for the observance by their villages of planting and health regulations.
Nevertheless the nobles still have some general social authority based
upon birth and Tongan tradition and reinforced by a recognition on
the part of the government that they are the leaders of their people.
The chief Tongan officers of state, for example, have always been
appointed from their ranks. It would seem, however, that their social
prestige is decaying with the emancipation of the people on the one
hand, and with the steady usurping of their traditional functions by the
civil service on the other.

565 The criterion of nobility is the possession of an hereditary estate
641 along with the privilege of participating in the election of nobles'
[423] representatives to the Legislative Assembly. Some men of chiefly
status have no such rights, and are therefore commoners, even though
[423] their birth may be superior to that of many nobles. Despite this formal
inferiority they are accorded high social respect, and sometimes hold
land in excess of a commoner's entitlement through retaining old
feudal privileges.

565 Reference has already been made to six hereditary estates held by
644 matabules. A matabule is a ceremonial officer to a chief, with a superior
status depending upon the rank of the chief he serves. The Royal
[178] Family and the nobles still have matabules, but in the case of other
[423] chiefs the office seems naturally to have lapsed. Those attached to the
Royal Family have hereditary estates but enjoy none of the political
[641] rights of nobles.

631 Altogether there are forty-three villages in Tonga, and three towns
(the ports mentioned earlier). Over a third of these villages and all
631 three towns are owned by the Government, which is thereby direct
423 landlord to two-fifths of the people. Nearly a sixth of the villages are
on the personal estates of the Royal Family, and a corresponding
proportion of the people. None of the nobles has an estate containing
more than four villages, and most of them have less than two.

423 Every male Tongan can apply to the Minister of Lands for an allot-
[647] ment when he is sixteen. The Minister must give him one, provided
that he has paid his poll tax, and that he has not turned down a previous
grant. If possible the allotment is made from the estate to which the
applicant belongs, but if there is no land to spare the Minister will set
him up either on Crown land or upon the estate of another noble.

362 £15—having a thatched roof, reed walls, and an earthen floor. Their
[435] construction ensures dirt, dust and damp. Health would certainly
improve, along with comfort, if they were required to have wooden
floors and more satisfactory roofing.

743 Tonga has long had a system of free medical benefits. These are
provided by the Medical Department which has a hospital of fifty beds
at Nukualofa, one of twelve beds at Ha'apai, and one of twenty beds
at Vavau, all of them equipped with operating theatres. In addition
759 there are dispensaries in both the Nuias and also in Eua. A European
doctor is head of the Department, and a European matron runs the
[743] Nukualofa hospital, but the rest of the staff is entirely Tongan, comprising thirteen medical practitioners, ten nurses, four dressers, and two
dispensers. Their work comes up to a high standard, and they are more
suitable for dealing with their own people than Europeans are. There
is a high turnover of nurses through marriage, but not a wastage, since
ex-nurses play a very valuable role in their villages as voluntary medical
757 workers and educators. Such education is needed because the Tongans
are not only inclined to be careless about their ailments but also to be
suspicious of western medicine.

Tonga's Attainments and Prospects

642 This sketch of modern Tonga describes how a small oceanic
peasantry has made a way of life which is suitable to the dignity of
free men, in harmony with the requirements of economic justice and
[648] full of promise for the future. The Tongans are unique and significant
in being the only independent people of the Pacific; subject, it is true,
to the control of the British Colonial Office in foreign affairs and to its
supervision over public finance, but in all other respects free from the
domination of a master race and secure in the possession of their
● [178] national heritage. Continuity has been preserved with traditional
institutions, and modern impacts have liberalised rather than destroyed
000 them. This liberalisation is far from finished and may well lead to the
development of a mature Polynesian democracy.

434 Tonga provides its people with a modest, but adequate and secure
income; modest because its cash value probably does not exceed £50
a year, adequate because it provides them with enough food, clothing
and housing to keep them well and happy, and secure because it is
largely independent of economic fluctuations. The Kingdom is far

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons 434
of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old 178
religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the 771
missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The 178
traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with 533
a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, [186]
stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of [526]
European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and [871]
geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather
slowly and to too limited an extent.

TONGA'S FUTURE

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with 000
hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and
to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope,
not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence
on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to
enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agri- [474]
cultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment
such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal
husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people
more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new
interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts
are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform.
The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable [874]
effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate
further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is
vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be
at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood
or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such
a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated.
The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that
made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and sea- 178
manship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central [396]
Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can [502]
hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the 000
declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

000 bureaucratic state rather than to the emergence of real popular government.
154 The fervour for church activities sometimes suggests that the
people are finding an escape from temporal problems in spiritual
154 enthusiasm. To a certain extent modern conditions have blocked the
old outlets for personal ambition and have not completely provided
178 new ones. Tonga often appears to be too shut in on itself, too removed
648 from outside influences, and particularly from contacts with other
Polynesian peoples.

000 Those tendencies are likely to be reversed, and these dangers averted, only if a sustained and confident effort is made to realise the country's many possibilities for social development. Nothing, of course, should ever be done which prejudices Tonga's political and economic independence, or which threatens its cultural integrity; but within these wide limits Tonga's leaders have the opportunity of securing improvements, not only in standards of living, but in the whole standard of life.

22: West

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[For information on the spread of the Christain Gospel by native converts from one island to another of the Tongan group, see Category 797.]

from whence they peep out upon the passer-by. 342
But, no doubt, the close proximity of so many trees [351]
and shrubs is exceedingly deleterious to health
during the rainy seasons; and great risk is also
incurred by the practice, when a hurricane comes
sweeping all before it, and crushing the dwellings
of the people beneath the falling trees. A somewhat 797
unfortunate attempt was made, a good many 351
years since, at sanitary improvement, under the 751
direction of one of the Missionaries, on whose
behalf, however, it is but fair to state, that his
intention and instructions were far exceeded by the
action of the natives. Having stated to some of
the chiefs in the town of Lifuka, Haabai, that a
disease, then raging as an epidemic, might possibly
be lessened by a clearance of the bush, they immediately
issued instructions to cut down and destroy
every tree and bush in the town, and to throw open
a wide space from thence clear away to the sea.
Amidst the shouts and merriment of a thousand
voices, axes and fire soon did the work; but it was
very shortly found more intolerable to bear day by
day the full blaze of the vertical sun, than to
endure the more rare evils of a hurricane, or even
the miasma arising from rank vegetation. Since 342
that time it has been difficult to prevail upon 178
the people to undertake any really beneficial 361
changes in the structure and location of their
houses.

Upon landing at Nukualofa, we were kindly received 797
by the veteran Missionary, the Rev. John
Thomas, and his good lady, both of whom had
spent many years of varied and useful labour
among the people. Their house differed but little
from those of the natives, excepting in size; also

225 Islands as they do in Fiji; nor is so much time and
136 care bestowed upon their capture by the Tonguese.
This may be accounted for by the fact, that, in
225 former times, none but chiefs were permitted to
565 capture, or, at all events, to partake of turtle.
178 Even now the Tonguese law is, that one half of
[671] all turtles caught, by any person, shall be taken to
the ruling chief of the place, as the king's representative,
while the remainder falls to the lot of
[226] the fisherman. The same law applies also to the
capture of the albicore, bonito, and a few other of
the larger and rarer fish.

226 In conclusion, we may remark, upon this department
462 of native resources and habits, that the prosecution of fishing is confined to the male sex; while the work of *fagota*, or shell-fishing, is mainly assigned to the women.

136 Like many of the Polynesian groups, these islands are entirely free from noxious snakes and serpents; nor are there any frogs or toads, such as are very common in the adjacent Fijian archipelago.

There is, however, a genuine sea-serpent, of harmless character, called by the Tonguese the *tukuhali*. It often leaves the sea that it may bask in the sun among the grass, and low shrubbery, skirting the shore. Its motion, both in the water and upon the land, is that of the true serpent species. It has nothing answering to the fins of the eel family. It is of a bluish-white colour, variegated by white and black stripes or rings, extending, at regular and close intervals, over the whole length of its body. The largest specimen we have seen would measure six feet in length, with a diameter of not more than an inch and a

754 common people had the utmost dread. So firm indeed was the belief of the people in the power of an enemy or priest to *tukitalai*, or consign them to death, that when once the victim knew that the *tuki*, or ceremony of cursing, had been performed, he generally pined away, and fell a sacrifice to his fears: or else the parties concerned would not scruple to employ the secret agency of poison, to accomplish the fulfilment of the threat. Even to this
[178] day these superstitious fears exist, though they are gradually wearing away. Like the remembrance of goblin tales, the fear remains after the faith has been destroyed. A case of this kind came to the writer's personal knowledge, while residing in Tongatabu. A well-known young and clever chief, called Netani Nauvaivai, (I think this was his name; but, not having written it at the time, I may be mistaken in the native cognomen,) came from a long residence in Fiji to reside with his relative Ata, the chief of Hihifo. About a year after his
754 arrival he began to complain of languor, and his
763 strength rapidly failed. He was a man of great mental and physical energy, and in religious and general knowledge was far in advance of most around him. I attended him in his sickness, and was with him when he died. His disease was undoubtedly abscess of the liver. But some of the attendants one day told me that they believed he was dying through the effects of *sausau*, or Fijian sorcery. I mentioned this to the sick man some days before his death. He smiled, and said that he believed nothing of the sort; but that it was, nevertheless, quite true that, three years previously, when journeying with a party of heathen Fijians, he had violated a *tabu*, by eating of certain for-

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is 764
allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The
sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners,
who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure
it; and each person pours the contents into
the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top
of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and
decorated with black pebbles and red coral,
arranged in various devices, which have a very
pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over [565]
the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, [349]
to the circumstance that many of the religious 769
practices of heathenism required visits, and 178
offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals,
whose interposition with the gods was thought
necessary, these places were much more carefully
attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed,
the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to
advise the people against running into the extreme
of negligence, and indifference, about the last
resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials 574
and marriages were accompanied by immense feastings, 431
proportioned according to the rank of the
parties, or the will of those connected with them.
Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by
the relations and friends against these times, and
brought as gifts. These were thrown into one
common stock, from which they were again distributed,
by those authorized to do so, to the
assembled company. These distributions of property 574
often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, 431
and were seasons when the true and inordinate 578
covetousness of the people could not remain
concealed. These practices still continue, to some [178]

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
431 evils arise, among church members, which require
578 the exercise of discipline by the Mission-
178 aries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or
577 Society Islanders, and other groups that might
be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to
show how low humanity could fall, when without
the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.
595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's
wives depending upon his own inclination, and his
ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to
[837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
have bordered on morality; for, after the parties
(586) had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was
considered disgraceful to separate. There were
also some, even among the better classes, who were
content to live with one wife only; and examples
of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon.
847 Infanticide did not disgrace the history,
and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.
855 Children were nurtured with great care and affection;
and aged people were not subjected to the
888 neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such
persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
266 cannibalism in these islands in former days. It
never became so prevalent as it once was in New
Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character,
as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in
the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however,
in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the ceremonial.—Editor.]

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THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called *milolua*, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or "clearing" the *kava*. The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circumstance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

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On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

[p. 198]

sialemohemohe seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaitunu* or 123
food presentation. Included in this latter were six great green *kava*
roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit
and vegetables, bunches of the prized *taokave* or chiefly coconuts, many
fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both
in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut
palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly
rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the 276
villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced
the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from 574
the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed 123
in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives [516]
seated themselves, with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *ovava*
tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished
folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*,
we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed 276
over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, 574
called *hagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth [412]
volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic
stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought
from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper
shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself
was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *hagai kava*.
Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making
the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava*
bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between
the *hagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and
bottom facing us. The *hagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the
hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When
the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the
kumete kava, behind which a handsome woman, the *gaahi kava*, or *kava*
maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was 276
for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who 574
possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the 178
chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf,
whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method
is now discarded.

The *gaahi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands 276
and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root 574
and to extract its essence, the while the two *hagai kava* simultaneously
poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had [415]
made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a
bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gaahi kava* on top

KAVA CEREMONIAL IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

THE comparative stability of ritual in the midst of changing opinions and interpretations has been often noted, and the ritual of *kava*-drinking at an important ceremony is doubtless the same to-day in essentials as it was a century or more ago, before the tide of European innovation had flowed over the Tongan Group. 276 574 178

The ceremoniousness with which *kava* is drunk varies, naturally, with circumstances; but even a little party of friends observes a fairly strict etiquette round a social bowl, and, on the other hand, important occasions, when king and great chiefs are present, have not all the same pomp. 276 574 576

The ruling house in Tonga is that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua are no longer conferred.[1] Some, at least, of the prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga were transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I., on the death of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, in 1865. Since this date the Tu'i Kanokupolu has enjoyed an undisputed supremacy. Inter-marriage has preserved the blood of the Tu'i Tonga in full stream in the veins of the present ruling house. George Tupou I., in a speech to his Parliament in 1875, said that the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua had both been conferred by the chiefs upon himself, and he appointed two heads of these houses, Kalaniuvalu of the Tu'i Tonga house, and Tungi of the Ha'a-takalaua. These headships were made hereditary, but the ancient titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua have not been conferred upon their holders. 643 [644] [582]

A Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring is a thing of the past, and although a good deal may still be gathered about points in which it differs from that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which may be observed to-day, it would probably be impossible to reconstruct it in detail. 643 276 574

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[1] See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 166-184.

illustrates this. But the map concerned is a map of *tofia* or the estates 613
of the modern landed nobles (see fig. 1), so that one is led to the 421
impression that the noble who holds such a *tofia* and the people who 423
rent land from it belong to the same *ha'a*. Thus there appears to have 427
been a broad relationship between the lineage organisation and the holding of land. But there was certainly nothing in it which took precedence [643]
over the relationship between the king and his "barons", for the land [565]
was clearly held by them from him at his will, not by the lineages themselves. The tenants within the lineages, for their turn, held their lands [554]
from their landlords as feudal subjects bound directly to them, not as [571]
members of social groups.

This leads us to postulate that the landlords granted land to their 421
subjects as individual tenants, and that therefore there was no form of 423
communal ownership in the current acceptation of the term.[9] If this
is accepted, then it would appear a mistake to imagine that in Tongan 427
land tenure a bold line towards economic individualism has been taken in respect of land policy in the Pacific, for holdings were always in terms
of individuals. But while there was individual holding, there was [643]
certainly no individual ownership in the sense in which it is generally understood today, for absolute ownership was the prerogative of the king, all others having only the usufruct of the lands assigned to them.

Viewed in this way, the traditional land tenure system of Tonga 421
is fairly well preserved in the codified land law of today. While the 423
modern land law has contributed sharper definitions of the major con- 671
cepts involved in the system, it introduced few changes, and most of 178
these are not really at variance in any fundamental sense with the 427
system as it traditionally operated. Indeed the source of the most significant changes is well summarised in a passage by Basil Thompson:[10]

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But in 1888, Mr. Baker, wishing to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he called "inheritances" to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the tenants a rental of $1

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[9] This may appear an extravagant claim, particularly in view of the statement that "on a father's death his property descended to his children", which may be interpreted to imply group holding. Strictly speaking I am unable to refute such an interpretation from the literature; the quotation makes no reference to what happens in the next generation; and Alexander's article itself is not at present obtainable in the main London libraries. But I would suggest that the whole tone of the passage suggests individual holding, referring as it does to subdivision and to tenants. Also, the fact that the statement refers to "a father" implies that he held his rights as an individual rather than a member of a wider social group.

[10] Thompson 1894:230-231, quoted by Gifford 1929:171-172.

> per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with the
> 421 land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but
> 423 I could, without evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all
> 427 power over their estates. I determined to make the Crown collect their
> 671 rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights
> 178 of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical
> purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance".

Thus the changes affected, while they resulted in a reshuffle at the top of the structure, left the individual family man in much the same position as before. This last point is put most succinctly by the Beagleholes in a passage in their book:[11]

> The villager therefore no more owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A former produce "rent" or tribute is now paid in tax money. Present day security of occupancy is probably for many Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or caprice of a high official was the only fiat that counted. But in general, the villager has the same type of economy-status claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

2—The Present Statutary Framework

421 Today all the land in Tonga belongs to the Tongan Crown; but
423 the traditional "inheritances" referred to by Thompson, which corres-
643 pond to the holdings of the "barons" of former times, are now classified
565 into Royal Estates, the estates held by members of the Tongan Royal
Family as their traditional holdings; Noble Estates, the estates held by members of the nobility as their forefathers had done under the king in former times; and Government Estates, the remaining estates which are now under the direct control of the Government of Tonga.[12]
[428] The first two categories are often referred to as hereditary estates to distinguish them from Government estates and are now heritable at law as they were by custom. Each such estate is known as a *tofia* and may run into a thousand or more acres; each member of the Royalty as well as of the nobility may hold several of them in different parts of the kingdom (see fig. 1 for distribution of *tofia* on Tongatapu). From them, allotments are granted to individual Tongans.

425 On reaching the age of sixteen years, every male Tongan is entitled
884 to receive a grant of 8¼ acres[13] of bush land as a tax allotment and a
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[11] Beaglehole 1941:19-20.

[12] I am uncertain as to how these estates came to be in the hands of the Government. See passage from Thompson 1894:230-231, already quoted.

[809] [13] One often wonders why the awkward figure of 8¼ acres. Traditionally the allotments made to individual Tongans measured 100 fathoms x 100 fathoms = 40,000 square yards. 8¼ acres = 39,930 sq. yds.; hence it is simply the traditional measure taken to the nearest ¼ of an acre.

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It is clear that the people who come from another village or island fare worse than those of local origin as far as land distribution is concerned. While I have no data comparing their position here with what it would have been in their own villages (and it is likely that they are worse off here) it seems clear that their presence in this village cannot be explained consistently in terms of any search for land. As far as the land tenure system is concerned, therefore, it would appear wrong to suppose that just because it opens up the possibility for movement, such movement will actually take place.

8—LAND TENURE AND VILLAGE STRUCTURE

621 613 622 [592] [166]

From the material already given it seems clear that the structure of this village is certainly not based upon a firm lineage organisation. The overall principle which binds the people together is simply their common subjection to their traditional overlord. The amorphous nature of kinship in its role of binding together the different households of the village has been demonstrated, so that from this point of view the village is largely an aggregation of isolated households. It has been pointed out that the village is atypical in having so many persons who come from other areas, and much of the nature of the village structure must be due to this factor. But how far the village is also atypical in respect of its lack of an overall lineage organisation is not clear, and I made no specific comparative enquiries along these lines. The data supplied by Gifford,[33] however, suggest that the tendency is for the large modern villages to be of the form observed here.

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Such a form of village structure is, I suggest, rather to be expected from the nature of village evolution in Tonga. The development of the nucleated village form is of comparatively recent origin, dating back to certainly not earlier than the 17th century. Before that there were only peasant farmers cultivating their holdings from farmsteads scattered throughout the countryside. From the nature of the Tongan lineage, it is clear that not all such farmers who came under the control of any particular chief need necessarily be related by blood. When they came together to form villages, therefore, it was more on the basis of common allegiance to the feudal overlord than on the basis of relationship in the male line.

621 613 602 571 [423]

To return to our village, however, we may say that although ties of kinship or lineage affiliation between households are of attenuated development in this village, they are supplemented by other ties—those based upon religious affiliation, economic co-operation, and even on general "friendship". In a large part, these ties have developed as a result of living together in villages; and, taken together with kinship ties, they are seen to influence the distribution (using this word in its widest sense) and working of the land in ways which are not contemplated by the legal system, but which do not therefore violate it. Land tenure, for its part, also produces certain associations and interdependencies between households, which play an important part in the final elaborations of the village structure.

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[33] Gifford 1929:8-10.

9—SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON LAND TENURE IN TONGA

There is no question that in legal conception the Tongan land 423 tenure system is fundamentally individualistic in character. Land 421 titles, which we saw refer to usufruct only, are granted in the name of 671 individuals, not of social groups; and insofar as it is consistent with the provisions of the law, such individuals can and do enjoy their rights absolutely as individuals. They are at liberty to confer the benefits of those rights upon whom they please, provided it is not for profit and not upon an alien; and there is room for individuals to move from one *api* to another, again provided that certain conditions are satisfied.

But the law makes certain highly significant restrictions upon this individualism. For instance, one is denied the right of disposal of one's property—a feature normally associated with individual title. This provision hinders the development of an open market in land, and [437] therefore denies the system the benefits of such a market. One such benefit is the ability of labour and/or capital to move freely between different pieces of land; this possibility is limited here. Such freedom of movement, moreover, is itself limited by the provision that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be in the same locality. By and large this means that people can obtain land most easily only in the village of their fathers or, at any rate, in the *tofia* area of their own traditional chief (moving to a new area entails breaking new ground socially, economically and, in a sense, legally as well). Therefore, insofar as they follow the path of least resistance, they tend to be confined within such a *tofia* area; and insofar as this applies, the limiting proviso could potentially lead to unnecessary congestion in conditions of rapid population increase, and could also be a serious setback in a developing economy, for freedom of movement is an important condition for an economically efficient distribution of land.

From the economic point of view, therefore, such restrictions are bad. But such a stricture implies certain assumptions about economic organization which probably do not apply to Tonga. Indeed it could be argued that at the present stage of economic development in Tonga, the land tenure system has certain social advantages which probably more than outweigh the economic weaknesses. Thus it seems clear that 178 apart from a strict and precise definition of the major concepts which 421 govern the land tenure system, the land law of Tonga has made few 423 really significant changes, and we have seen that some of these changes 671 are not strictly recognised in social practice. The most important set of conditions (that which concern the relation of the landlord to his 178 tenants), therefore, remain largely unaffected. The *tofia* holder still 622 has, in practice, much authority with regard to the control and dis- 423 tribution of land; and the people's obligations to him in regard to social 421 and economic service are still in force. But in addition, the chief now [434] enjoys an extra income from the tax on land, and from the extra lands which he holds himself. In this way the land tenure system actually bolsters up the traditional political system by giving it powerful economic support. Moreover, through the provisions relating to inherit- [428] ance, the system is brought into close relation with one of the most

622 important features of Tongan society—viz., patrilineal descent. In
423 these ways, the system plays a highly useful role in the preservation of
421 the Tongan social form.

428 One may, of course, argue that after all the system is not really all
178 that different from a full-blown communalistic one. For units of land
423 (*tofia*) are still tied to groups of people (or the other way round if one
421 wishes) in such a way that the restrictive features of a communalistic
system still apply. But there is no need to press such an argument too far, for the system provides only that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be together, not that they must be in the *tofia* of one's traditional chief.

Indeed this point embodies the most important principle in Tongan land tenure which may well be considered in relation to future land development in other Pacific territories: the system contains the seeds for the liberation of land resources from the social groups in which, in systems such as the Fijian and the Samoan, they are often locked up. Within the Tongan context this principle is hampered only by the operation of certain limiting conditions—both social and legal—which, however, are particular and need not be an absolute barrier. At a higher level of economic development, when economic relations may be expected to be less personal, the possibilities opened up by this feature of the system may be capable of fuller realisation. At present, however, such factors are probably more important in limiting the possibilities of the system than, say, the claim that a system of taxing land rather than individuals militates against the desire to acquire land, for which no confirmation came my way. This claim, however, remains a potential danger to the system, and may become a real problem if taxation were raised to a much higher level. In any case, while the system has distinct possibilities, its implications should be clearly recognised before claims are made for its propriety elsewhere.

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without eating. At length the Tuitonga noticed this, and asked 539
the reason. Tuimotuliki explained that he could not eat the
mullet, for it was made tabu to him when he was bathed at home
in his own country in Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga requested
that the tabu might be given to him too, that he might share
in it. But Tuimotuliki demurred, saying, "Why my lord
should you be tabued, seeing that you catch that fish in your
net? Why should you be prevented from eating it?" But
the Tuitonga insisted. "Is there any lack of fish?" he retorted.
"Why should I be so anxious to eat that fish? Let
me share your tabu, and we can eat other sorts of fish." So
Tuimotuliki gave way, and admitted the Tuitonga to his tabu,
as a sign of his affection for Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga 539
sent word to the different parts of the Tongan group, announcing 539
that the mullet was tabu to the men, and that those who ate 262
it would suffer from blindness, and ulceration, and pox, and 784
baldness, and leprosy. The women alone were exempted from
the tabu. (I have never seen or heard anything of such a tabu.
The mullet is freely eaten to-day, both in Tonga, and I think
in Fiji. Of course the old tabus are largely things of the past, [178]
but I have not seen any indications of a recollection of such a
tabu. I have not, however, made special inquiries relative to
this particular one. Recollections of some old food tabus,
no longer practised are preserved amongst some of the people
who have interested themselves in these matters, but all I have
so far encountered have been of local operation, and I have not
found any of such universality as the statement in the text
would seem to imply. The mullet at any rate is eaten with
freedom and relish).

Thereafter the crew of the boat from Fiji multiplied and 539
became numerous. The descendants of Tuimotuliki are the
folk called the Tuitalau, their names being Fainga'a, Tuitavake,
Mo'ungatonga, Mapu, Siliika, and Tulukava, the last being a
female name. The descendants of Nokelevu are Soakai,
Kavakavalangi, Havea, Tukuafu, Funaki-oe-langi. And the
descendants of Balusa, who was called Alusa in Tonga, are
Ahio, Fakahafua, and Veamatahau. This is the descent
of those who are sacred, and who are called the Pure. They

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 the strong sails made from woven pandanus leaf
396 mats allowed the double canoes to be propelled at
[343] incredible speeds. For protection from the weather
[348] when not in use, or when being repaired between
trips, the grandiose double canoes of Tonga were
501 pulled ashore into large canoe huts.[A] Shorter,
484 inter-island trips were made in outrigger canoes,
popao, which are the only one of the original vessels
[178] to have remained up to the present day. However,
with the introduction of modern boats, the *popao*
have been somewhat modified in style and are used
today mainly in the outer islands of Tonga only for
fishing or traveling short distances.

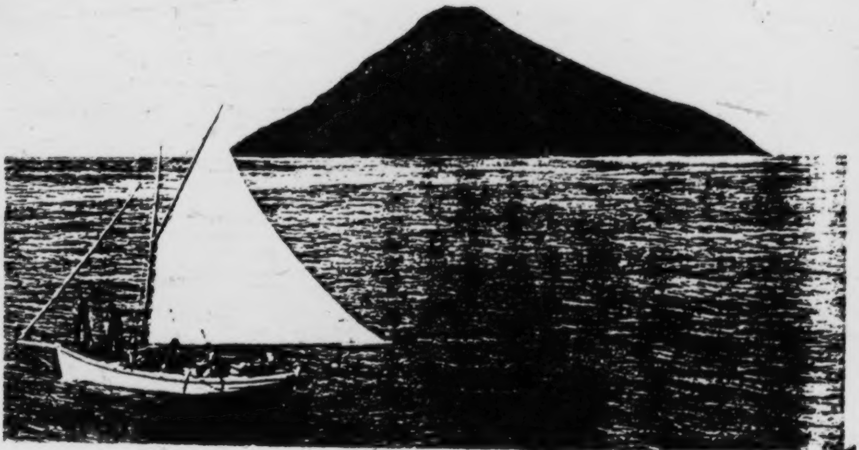
[p. 5-B]

A [See category 343, p. 4--Analyst]

More modern sea-going vessels, including a government inter island ferry and freighters, have replaced the early 501
double canoes. This 1952 photo shows a sloop bringing a mother and her sick child from the island of Tafahi to a 505
little hospital on Niuatoputapu in northern Tonga. 178

Kuo lahi eni he taimi ni e ngaahi vaka lalahi fakamisini 'oku ngaue'aki 'i Tonga, pea 'ikai toe ngaue'aki ai e ngaahi [655]
fu'u kalia taumu'a ua 'o ono'aho. Ko e ta eni na'e fai he 1952 'o ha vaka la lolotonga 'a 'ene 'ave ha fine'eiki mo 'ene [368]
ki'i tamasi'i valevale na'e puke ki he falemahaki 'i Niuatoputapu.

[p. 6]



538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 [726] As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

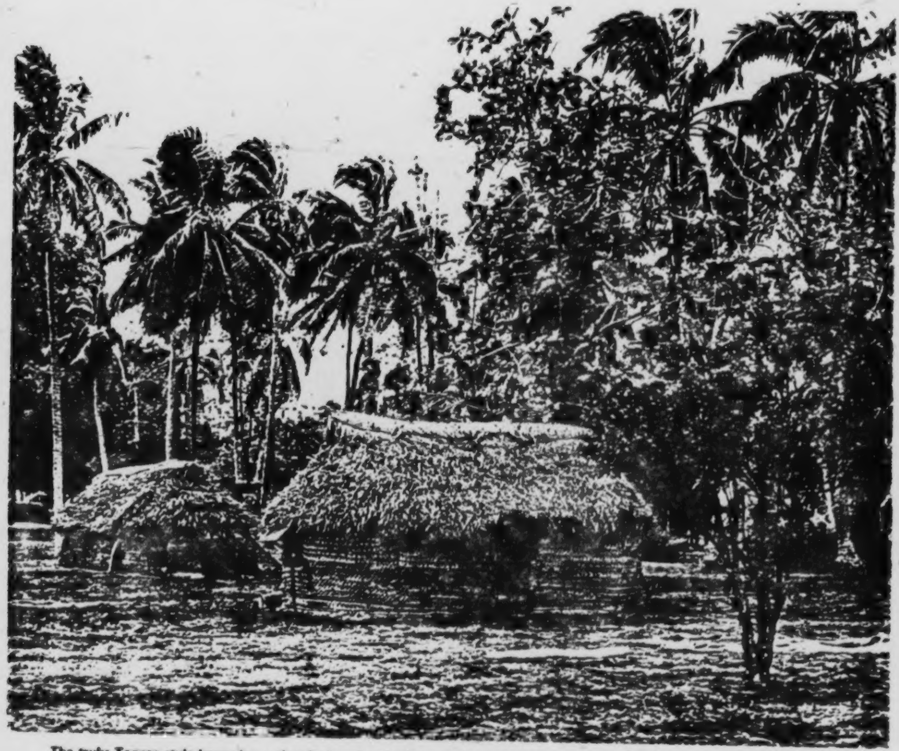
304 [177] [237] Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the [797] [178] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 177 The coming of the westerners generally had a detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[p. 13-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt .C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



The truly Tongan-style house has a thatched roof and sides made from plaited coconut fronds, as well as a separate facility in the back for cooking purposes. This 1952 photo of a Tongan house and kitchen is still representative of households in many villages and islands, although the use of concrete and iron as building materials is gradually increasing today.

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343
[178]

Ko e fale Tonga mo'oni 'oku holisi mo 'ato lou niu, pea pehe pe foki mo e peito, hange ko ia 'i he ta ko eni na'e fai 'i he 1952. 'Oku kei lahi pe foki 'a hono ngaue'aki e fa'ahinga fale pehe ni 'i he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe 'i Tonga.

643 Nuku'alofa—the modern capital of Tonga) has been on Tongatapu; it was from there that the absolute monarch, the *Tu'i Tonga* or King ruled—his dynasty beginning over a thousand years ago with 'Ahoeitu, the first *Tu'i Tonga* who was also considered to be a direct descendant of the gods.

[178] Though the *Tu'i Tonga,* as such, no longer exists today, it is important to have an understanding of some of the aspects of the position of the *Tu'i Tonga* and the evolution of the *Tu'i Tonga* line over the years in order to gain some insight into Tonga's present political structure, which is intricately interwoven with that of the past.

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784 As supreme temporal and spiritual ruler of all the chiefs and people of Tonga, the *Tu'i Tonga* was regarded as a god, and therefore many rituals and

[p.27-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 288]

643 bring devastation upon Tonga. By 1810, however,
651 the political system had decentralized and changed
[784] such that the *'Inasi* was discontinued.

Being absolute lord over all the Tonga Islands, the
[178] *Tu'i Tonga* was surpassed only in rank by his sister,
644 the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* (It remains true in Tonga
[562] even today that women hold superiority over men in
ceremonial ranking.) Still higher, and in fact, the
person of highest rank traditionally in the entire
Kingdom was the *Tamaha*—that is, the eldest
daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* The rank of the
Tamaha was so great that even the *Tu'i Tonga* had
to pay homage to her.

764 In historic times, tombs called *langi* were erected
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[p. 29-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30B]

324 178 Reaching its climax in the sixteenth century, stone masonry in Tonga subsequently began declining, as a parallel to the gradual weakening thereafter of the *Tu'i Tonga* dynasty.[11]

643 At the end of the fifteenth century, the *Tu'i Tonga* delegated all his secular powers to the short-lived *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua,* while the *Tu'i Tonga* himself, retaining all the spiritual authority, began to become more and more remote from contact with the people. Then, in the early seventeenth century, the dynamic *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line took control of civil affairs. By 1865 when the last *Tu'i Tonga* died, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line had absorbed the power of both the *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* lines into itself, making the present-day ruling line in Tonga that of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* line. In fact, *Tupou*, the title long used by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* family, appears in the name of the eminent ruler of Tonga today—His Majesty, King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

[p. 30-C]

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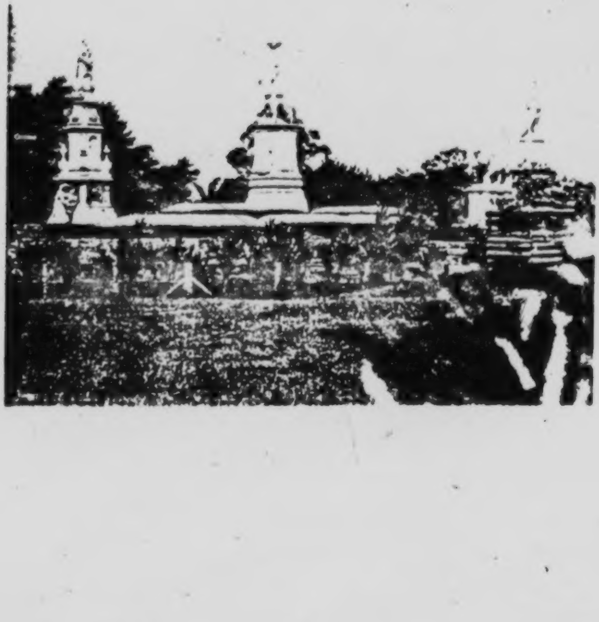
Although "langi" are no longer used as royal burial places, they remain as memorials to Tonga's past, as in the photo above of the *langi* called "Tau'atonga" in Mu'a. The Royal Tombs (below), located in Nuku'alofa, have been the burial place of Tonga's Royal Family since 1893.

'Oku 'ikai kei ngaue'aki he ngaahi 'aho ni e langi hange ko e "Langi Tau'atonga" ko ia 'i Mu'a, 'a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko Mala'e Kula 'i Nuku'alofa *(ta 'i lalo)*–ko e telio'anga ia 'e ha'a tu'i talu mei he 1893.



[p. 33]

39: Gerstle & Raitt . C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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[825]
[178]

Octopus, which in days of old was considered to be a sacred animal, is today a very popular dish in Tonga. One method of preparing it for eating is to dry it, such as is being done with these three octopuses at Ofu, Vava'u.

Na'e pehe tokua he taimi ko e na'e nofo e ngaahi laumalie kehekehe 'i he feke, ka kuo hoko e ika ni ko ha me'a tokoni manakoa 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. Ko e ta eni 'o ha fakamomoa feke 'i Ofu, Vava'u.

[P. 41-C]

782 by a murder there), a chief's male child by an
inferior female attendant might be strangled in
783 atonement.[23] Both the rite of *tutunima* and of
[797] *no'osia* gradually became discontinued with the
introduction and spread of Christianity.

764 Funerals *(putu)*, which have long been matters of
great formality and importance in Tonga, have
always been accompanied by rather extensive
mourning ceremonies. Some ancient funeral rituals
●[178] having religious implications have fallen into disuse
with the passing of the "old order"; these involved
the mourners torturing themselves with self-inflicted
wounds as a sign of anguish, of respect for the

[p. 43-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45B]

764 [178] deceased, and of self-abasement and lowliness in the eyes of the gods. Other events which have traditionally been associated with funerals and which are still a significant part of funeral procedures in Tonga today include donning old ragged mats (and black garments—a more modern adaptation) by mourners as a symbol of humility

[p.45-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 long ago, features circular seating of the participants
574 (predominantly men) in a prescribed order, with the
person of highest rank at the head of the *kava* circle
and directly opposite the *kava* bowl; other positions
in the circle and the order of being served are
[178] reflective of each man's status. Informal *kava*
[565] drinking gatherings, which require no particular
[517] seating arrangement or ceremonial ritual, have
become increasingly popular over the years under
the less stratified, modern social system which has
evolved, and are, in fact, a favorite pastime in Tonga
at present. [1,46-C]

2

(2) Pounding the *kava* root, the first step (above) in the preparation of *kava* for drinking, is
[824] performed here by Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) After the crushed *kava* is placed in the *kava* bowl and
water added (see next page), adept hands must wring and strain the *kava* mixture using hibiscus
[415] fiber *(fau)*. The *kava* is then ready to be served and drunk – currently from coconut half-shells,
but in the past from cups skillfully made out of banana leaves.

[178] (2) Ko hono tuki eni 'o e kava 'e Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) Ko hono tatau eni 'o e kava 'aki 'a e fau ('i he peesi hono hoko). Hili eni, pea inu leva 'a e hu'a kava 'aki e ngaahi ipu nge'esi niu. 'I he taimi fuoloa, na'e ngaue'aki e ngaahi ipu mei he lou'i siaine.

5

181 Tonga of today is in many ways closely aligned
118 with the traditional Tongan society, and she is in many ways different. Certain adaptations have been made over time, but Tongan society is at this time vibrantly alive — a relatively small, yet proud Polynesian kingdom which is grappling boldly with the enigma of an aggressive, infiltrating, rapidly coalescing world.

What does it all mean, in actuality, to possess many of the strengths of the traditional Polynesian culture while being faced, simultaneously, with the challenges which a politically and economically ambitious world poses?

Without a doubt, Tonga has to date remained

[p.53-B]

181 herself. With faith in her identity, she has consistently remained determined to maintain the
● 178 freedom to run her own affairs. She has, in effect, held the reins for designing and controlling her own future.

Yet, today's world presents threats which differ greatly from the threats which have prevailed throughout history — threats which Tonga has successfully withstood. A country's integrity is her stronghold, and it is Tonga's integrity which is being challenged by the diverse forces of a world where material progress, technological know-how, wealth and power hold prominence over human values.

[457] The mushrooming in Tonga of phenomena such
[435]
[369]
[464]

[p. 53-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 548]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

181 as tourism, foreign economic interest, prices of
•178 consumer goods, pressures to work and study
457 abroad, and the rural-urban drift which is creating
435 grave unemployment and population problems on
Tongatapu, intensifies the dilemma of *how to*
369 *improve the quality of life while preventing cultural*
464 *and social deterioration.*

Although Tonga's economy is based primarily on
433 agriculture (main exports: copra, bananas,
241 desiccated coconuts), Tonga is slowly moving away
from being a society of substantially subsistence
433 farming. Tourism, which is rapidly becoming a
major consumer industry, is being encouraged by
457 the government as a source of employment and

[p. 54-$\boxed{B}$]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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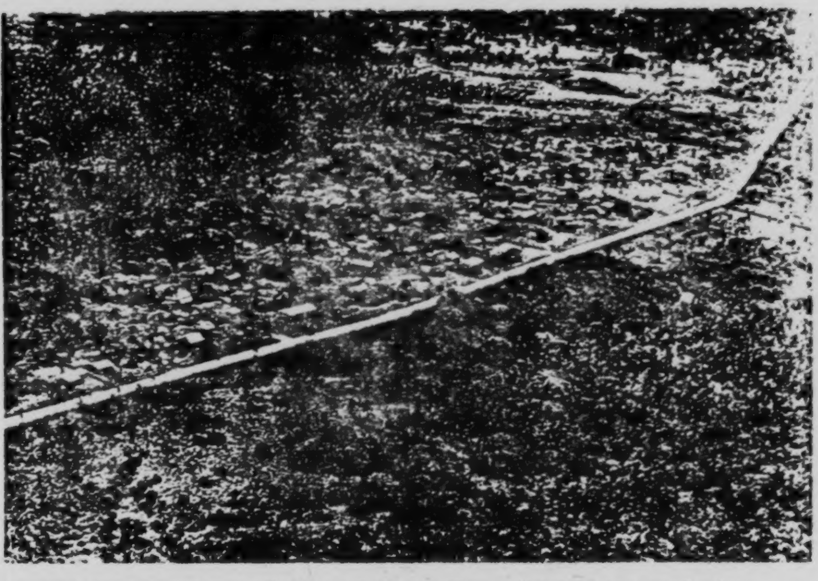

An aerial view of south-eastern Tongatapu shows the village of Nakolo and surrounding farm lands. In early Tonga, villages such as this did not exist; instead, land was divided into districts, with a chief ruling a particular family clan, and homes were scattered. Villages, as such, are comparatively new innovations, probably arising out of the need for defense at the time of Tonga's civil war.

Ko e kolo eni ko Nakolo 'i Hahake, 'a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta na'e fai mei ha vakapuna. 'I he taimi fuoloa, na'e 'ikai ke 'i ai ha ngaahi kolo pehe ni ia. Na'e vahevahe e fonua ki he ngaahi vahe fonua, pea pule'i ia 'e ha 'eiki pe matapule. 'Oku pehe tokua na'e toki kamata mai pe ki mui ni mai 'a e nofo fakakolo, mahalo lolotonga e tau fakalotofonua.

[p.57-A]

648 179 Tonga's future is indeed, more than ever before, tied in with the future of other Pacific nations. Each country, no matter how small, must play an active role in the shaping of its own destiny – individually, as a separate unit, and collectively, as a vital part of the Pacific community.

• 178 181 179 Tonga is changing, as she must in order to survive. Survival, however, rather than being contingent upon material gains, depends on the preservation of cultural identity, of self-respect, and of a sense of unity. Hopefully, in the pursuit of development and growth, Tonga will be able to keep a firm hold – not so much on the structure, but more importantly on *the spirit and the essence* of traditional Tongan society.

[p. 58-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

178 As one prominent Tongan, Bishop Patelisio P.
Finau, said with poignancy at the "Seminar on
181 Social Issues in Development Planning in the South
179 Pacific," held in Suva in late 1973:

> "Forced changes can be so artificial. Let us learn from history: people admire the humanness, the dignity and poise of our people. We still master time and are not its slaves. We do not want to join the 'rat race' . . . The search for technical assistance is necessary, but unless men can feel they can grow as human beings, grow as masters of their own development, share in decisions, no amount of material effort will achieve liberation." [p.58-B]

769 looked upon as a god. This would account for
such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai
776 Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present
writer negative the assertion that the spirits of
779 chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special
inquiries about was whether the Tongans wor-
776 shipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees,
stones, etc., before which they placed their offer-
779 ings, or the god who was supposed to be tempor-
arily residing in them. The answer was decisive.
[782] The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their
spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Mauí,
779 Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their
bodies performed all the functions of human bodies,
and they were inflamed with human passions. But
[178] the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and
scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained
when the missionaries came. The third class of
gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of
[178] worship being paid them at any time. These two
classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikehe*.
This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi*
776 ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full
deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket);
779 or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,'
'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (ἕτερος, not ἄλλος), so *fa'ahikehe* is 'dif-
ferent folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is
[114] 'Otua. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no *h* in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognised by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha me'a faka'eiki*, which apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Pro-
[114] bably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130):
'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed
[769] *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit. He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *'ariki*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members
of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as
779 gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their
title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were
643 certainly looked upon as in some sense divine
beings; and instances are on record of prayers
643 being offered to them. Words applied only to the
gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*,
195 already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the
movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inasi*, or 'por-
[764] tion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When
a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing'
(*hala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

over a hundred years later, wrote: "There are no towns or villages, 175
most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no order other 361
than what convenience requires."[4] Kennedy has argued:

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have virtually been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart.[5]

Maude concedes only a "district (which) appears to have had a centre, in and around which the chief, his family and his immediate attendants and followers were settled."[6] Cook called Mu'a, the permanent residence of the *tu'i tonga*, a "village" and Gifford claimed Nuku'alofa to have been a seasonal or temporary residence of the *tu'i kanokupolu.*[7] But it is clear that these places were quite atypical of settlement as a whole. While it is not unreasonable to suppose that "groupings" and "centres", permanent and temporary existed, it seems arbitrary to attempt a precise definition: the evidence is slight and open to various
interpretations. What is clear is that villages as we now know them 175
appeared only with the outbreak of civil war in 1799, when Tongans in 361
the southern group congregated into palisaded villages, or *kolo*. As 669
the war spread to other parts of the group, large village forts appeared in all the main islands and when peace returned these often became
the sites of the first modern villages. It has been assumed that Tongans, 361
after half a century of living in village forts, immediately forsook the 178
chance to return to the old dispersed settlement pattern. This would appear to be an oversimplification of a more gradual process, for as late as 1830 Orlebar noted: "the huts of the natives, scattered irregularly over the country in groups of three and four. . . ."[8] It seems that diverse factors working unevenly throughout the group may have persuaded some people of the advantages of village life, while others only came to live in villages at a later date. Maude claims:

> "Mission influence was probably a major factor, for compact villages were [797]
> almost essential for regular church and school attendance and at the same time facilitated the closer supervision of the people and their activities; religious enthusiasms, too, helped to bind the members of new settlements together. For the Tongans the major attractions were the churches and schools and, later, water tanks and stores, and the greater opportunities for social life and community activities."[9]

Another factor of major significance for the evolution of the settle- [565]
ment pattern was the establishment of constitutional government by [622]

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[4] Cited by Maude (1965): 28.
[5] Kennedy, op. cit.
[6] Maude, op. cit.
[7] Gifford (1929): 101.
[8] Cited by Maude, op. cit.
[9] Maude: 61.

178 361 565 622 George Tupou. The new laws concerning relations between chief and commoner gave the ordinary Tongan much more independence and freedom of movement; while other laws obliged chiefs to allocate land to their followers which in effect usually resulted in the allocation of town and country land. The distinction between *'api kolo*, the place to reside, and *'api tukuhau*, the place to cultivate, was thus sharpened by legal definition, but it seems probable that while the laws encouraged the new form of settlement in some places, in others they merely confirmed what had become an established practice. In the 1920s Tungi, the husband of the late Queen Salote, sought to encourage people on his *tofi'a* or estate to return to dispersed living. By forfeiting their right to an *'api kolo*, they could obtain 12¼ acres of *'api tukuhau* instead of the customary 8¼ acres. This venture was not very successful and in three of the four villages where it was encouraged, most of the people have now returned to the village centre.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

162 361 There is evidence to suppose that settlement was more widespread than it is today, although the populations involved were often small. The volcanic islands have apparently always been less densely settled than [312] the coral islands of the group. They are too small to provide permanent fresh water streams, much of their area is too steep for cultivation, landing places are poor, and occasional volcanic eruptions are a further deterrent to settlement. Their isolation, however, heightened their attraction in times of civil disturbance and most were occupied until the mid-nineteenth century. Only Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu continued to support relatively high populations into this century, and the former [621] was evacuated following an eruption in 1946. As with earlier resettlements, an attempt was made to maintain old social groupings and nine Niuafo'ou villages were re-established in 'Eua.[10]

[312] The coral islands also lack fresh water but the habitable area is often more extensive, the soils of many have been enriched by ash showers, the surrounding reefs make for good fishing, and communications are easier. There are, however, some notable exceptions. Uoleva, for instance, always appears to have been uninhabited. Its sandy loams are unsuitable for growing yam and, although visited by people from nearby Lifuka and farmed to some extent, there is no record of

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[10] Not all resettled in 'Eua; about half stayed in Tongatapu. Of earlier settled islands, 'Ata is reported to have had a population of 200, consisting of refugees from several islands until Peruvian raiders forced its evacuation in the 1860s. Its inhabitants were resettled in a new village called Ha'atua in 'Eua. Refugees from Tongatapu resided on Toku and farmed the more fertile nearby Fonualei until an eruption in 1846 led missionaries to persuade its inhabitants to move to Utulei in Vava'u. Similarly Late, Kao and Tofua were all inhabited prior to the mid 1860s.

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, 161
and movement is still much influenced by social factors 162
concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, 166
of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and 361
unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of
Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested.
Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for
social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new 571
social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin 602
groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with
population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors in- 178
fluencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and 871
important being education, which permits social mobility in a society 555
still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to 565
achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even 436
the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has 171
many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems
and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts
of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to 166
Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development 179
policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among 361
islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu
overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities
which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to 178
meet the problems associated with population growth and movement
with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today,
but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

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[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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creases in population, resulting in say a doubling 241
in the intensity of cropping, may therefore not bring 182
about significant changes in agricultural techniques,
even when quite high levels of intensity are reached.
Thirdly, an imbalance between the rate of increase [171]
in the intensity of cropping and the rate of agricultural
change may also be expected in areas experiencing
rapid population growth, and where farmers have little knowledge of innovations which
could be adopted, a situation which applies in other
parts of the Pacific besides Tonga.

Probably the major limitation on the usefulness 241
of Boserup's thesis under present Tongan conditions, 182
however, is the fact that population growth
is only one factor influencing agricultural change, 178 ●
for the increasing commercialization of Tongan
life has affected the whole of the agricultural system.
Involvement in cash cropping has helped to encourage [245]
the adoption of food crops which require
less labour, and has added to the pressure on the
bush-fallow system through the increased planting
of coconuts, bananas and other crops.[1]

The current Coconut Replanting Scheme appears 245
likely to modify further the food cropping system. 241
Firstly, the increased density of palms resulting
from new planting, and the restriction on cropping
around each palm reduces the area available for
other crops. Secondly, the need to keep down the
bush growth around the new palms and to avoid
any burning which would damage them places severe
restrictions on the practices of bush fallowing and
slashing and burning. Thirdly, if the Scheme's aim
of high productivity is to be achieved and the maximum
benefit gained from the selected seed nuts the
continued use of fertilizers is essential and is being
strongly encouraged. The eventual replacement 000
of the bush fallow as the technique for maintaining
soil fertility in Tonga may therefore be as much a
result of the requirements of commercial agricul-

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[1] In times of good export prices farmers buy much of their food and subsistence cropping declines.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF MOTULAHI

361 178 Villages in Tonga are the cumulative product of historic events and subsequent individual and group adaptations. Thus, compact settlements came about during the period of civil war, and then the separation between kolo (town) and 'uta (bush) became standardized through legislation. Other features that make up the look of Tongan villages, such as the relative proximity of the houses, are the result of ongoing processes of population growth and increasing pressure on land resources.

121 As we have seen in the preceeding chapter, there may be some danger in generalizing from the village of Motulahi to other villages. Nevertheless, data on local organization collected in Motulahi are not representative only of the people of Motulahi. Goodenough points out that "the same cultural principles can produce statistically different outputs in different circumstances" (1970: 57). In presenting data from Motulahi, my aim is to show how Tongan cultural principles have shaped the way in which people now living in Motulahi have dealt with the circumstances in which they found themselves.

642 Except at the most senior levels, government civil
servants and other executive officers in Tonga have little
power. Therefore, while formal procedures exist for people
to deal with various levels of the government hierarchy,
intermediate levels of the hierarchy are often by-passed.
Instead, the ordinary villager usually functions as a
private petitioner vis-a-vis those at high levels of authority
in government, for personal representations to these
people generally are more effective than trying to work
through government channels. The result is a direct and
very immediate relationship between villagers and national
leaders, despite what may be vast differences between them
642 in rank. Thus, a number of men in Motulahi told me that
423 they had been allocated their agricultural allotments on
425 government estates on Tongatapu and 'Eua through having
646 petitioned in person at the house--not the office--of the
Premier, accompanied by a *matāpule* ('ceremonial orator')
642 to speak on their behalf. This system of recourse to
178 personal representations is similar to the way in which
[565] high chiefs were traditionally approached. In short, in
the words of a man from New Zealand who spent some years
in Tonga in the 1960s, working for the Tonga Government,
government in Tonga "is western in its legal *form*, Tongan
in its benevolent but autocratic *practice*" (Walsh 1967:
121--italics in original).

554

in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha‘a* system, therefore, is a 613
geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on 565
geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.
The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa* 613
kava or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demon- 565
strate the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal
drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the 276
visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through 574
the order of serving."[16] In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves 554
to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other
persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha‘a* membership is by its nature also a claim to 613
high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high 565
rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have
relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of 554
noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always [576]
get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is
still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha‘a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male 613
and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to 611
geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not
reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha‘a* is "optative";[17] 565
that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male
or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line,
especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal,
a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While 613
membership in a *ha‘a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with 565
a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on
that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the 554
holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the
next.[18] According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats, 613
"increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";[19] 554
a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high 565
maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother
is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the 557
ha‘a of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might [581]
assert his membership in his mother's *ha‘a* rather than his father's. Other 613
persons might completely drop out of the *ha‘a* system because their 565
claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low
rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals [554]
of high rank are recognised in other contexts.[20] The point is not only

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[16] Gifford 1929:157.

[17] Firth 1957.

[18] Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.

[19] Bott 1972:219.

[20] This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha‘a* affiliation and access to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times. [178] [423]

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cook's voyages are many—44 either have definite non-Cook prove- 534
nances or no collection information[21] and this is dramatically different
from the situation with panpipes. The placement of the holes in the
19th and 20th century noseflutes is also different—there are often five
holes nearly equally spaced on the upper surface and one at the middle
of the lower surface—and usually there is little or no decoration (fig.
17). This relative abundance and lack of decoration suggests that nose- 534
flutes became more widely available in the post-European era. The polit- 178
ical intrigues and the changing status of lineages in the 19th century [797]
went hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity, and items of [565]
material culture which had traditionally been used mainly by high chiefs [554]
were taken over by lines of lesser chiefs in an attempt to legitimize
themselves and demonstrate their status. One is tempted to speculate
that the panpipe is an example of this process and reflects the changing
social system of Tonga. The hypothesized introduction of panpipes in 534
late prehistoric times from Fiji and use as a lower status replacement of 178
the chiefly noseflute may reflect dissatisfaction with a social order that 554
was beginning to be oppressive and a spreading desire for goods which 565
had been mainly restricted to chiefs. A subsequent substitution of the
real noseflute for a lesser status variant may indicate a wider avail-
ability of previously socially restricted scarce goods to a broader stratum
of society.

The substitution of European goods for their socially restricted 534
indigenous counterparts is well known, but Tongan panpipes suggest 177
that similar acculturative processes were operative in Tonga long before
the coming of Europeans. We conclude that studies of Tongan material [121]
culture (both prehistoric and historic) must take into consideration not
only the ramifications of social stratification, but also layers of accul-
turation that recognize at least a post-Lapita Fijian acculturative
horizon, as well as European acculturation.

This paper is an attempt to interpret a certain amount of data which [121]
cannot be illuminated by ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. Tongan
panpipes have been objects of interest since they were first collected on
Cook's second voyage, but neither the musical system nor their origin or
use has been explained to anyone's satisfaction. The interpretations
suggested above should be recognized as tentative and based on concep-
tual analogies derived from other facets of Tongan music and society.

10

holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage 613
and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied
to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as 612
kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the 178
class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger 565
brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related
and subordinated. 613

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the 602
class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki,* 565
and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior ex-
pressed in *tapus.* Within the *kāinga,* the important reciprocal ranked 612
relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister- 554
brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus.* (2) In talking about [784]
rank in the *kāinga,* Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either *'eiki* or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in the *kāinga.* Alternatively, the term *fahu,* 'above the law', is used in describing rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3) Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or *tehina* of *'eiki.* Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties.
Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to [601]
titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate particular statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other individuals in his *kāinga.* These shared concepts of rank survive to the present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop
of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth 178
and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty.
Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the 643
union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a 175
history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

643 of his sons, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first two royal lines lost status as
175 successive Tu'i Kanokupolu increased their power. Finally, after a period
of civil wars during which the Tu'i Tonga and various allied factions of
643 chiefs were defeated in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I,
[642] united all three island groups of Tonga under his rule. The consolidation
of power under Tupou I coincided with his conversion to the Wesleyan
[797] Church and his alliance with foreign missionaries. Tupou I, with the aid
[648] of his European Prime Minister, Shirley Baker, a former Wesleyan missionary,
instituted a number of important reforms (see Rutherford, 1971).
The following transformations have occurred in Tonga during and since
the rise of the dynasty of Tupou I:

178 1. Before the nineteenth century, Tonga's population was dispersed on
361 the land of the various islands. Only in the first part of the nineteenth
century did the present pattern of nucleated village settlement emerge,
resulting largely from mission influence and the need for protection
during the civil wars (Maude, 1965, p. 61).

178 2. The reforms of Tupou I culminated in the Constitution of 1875
which transformed the traditional feudal political system of Tonga into
642 a constitutional monarchy on the English model. In contemporary Tonga,
[565] the nobility still occupies most of the positions of authority in both the
co-existing traditional and Western political systems.

178 3. The end of the period of violence and the reforms of Tupou I considerably
565 limited the powers and prerogatives of chiefs in the traditional
social system. Formerly, the Tu'i Tonga bestowed chiefly titles and grants
423 of land upon individuals who had extensive powers to dispose of the land
and its inhabitants as they wished. The title of noble was created by the
Constitution of 1875, and Tupou I chose a number of both his prominent
supporters and opponents to hold titles. Noble titles are associated with
legally recognized hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. The remainder of the
former chiefs maintained and passed on their titles, but were reduced to
178 small landholders just as commoners. In modern Tonga, chiefs without
565 *tofi'a* have only ceremonial status and are otherwise indistinguishable
from commoners in terms of class rank. Thus, the reforms of Tupou I
essentially froze the boundaries of the class system, not only limiting the
possibility of an individual becoming titled, but also limiting the prerogatives
and powers that chiefly titles formerly carried with them. There
were 33 noble titles in Tonga in 1965, but only 29 actual title-holders,
since two men held two titles each and the remaining titles were held

by the Royal Family in the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965, p. 56). 178
The power of the nobles within the surviving traditional class structure 565
was limited in that they no longer have legally recognized rights to the
services or goods of their people, nor any judicial functions outside the 178
state legal system, nor any control over the amount of rent and tenure of 565
land, legally registered by commoners who live on their *tofi'a*. Essentially, 423
nobles within the traditional structure have been reduced to landlords
with very limited powers even in this status. However, what makes the 175
role of the noble important in the traditional class system is the fact of
their considerable moral and cultural status on the village level, backed 565
by the very real power that they hold in the parallel political structure
of modern government. The Town Officer of a village, often a commoner, still shows considerable respect to his noble, and at least in 'Uiha, [624]
accedes to his wishes. In sum, the traditional class structure of Tonga
survives, but in an attenuated form with sharply defined boundaries
between the Royal Family and the small number of noble titles on one
hand, and the rest of the population including commoners, nominal
chiefs, and *matāpules* on the other.

4. Tupou I instituted a unique individualistic system of land tenure 423
(see Nayacakalou, 1959, pp. 93-114; Maude, 1965, pp. 97-103). Every
Tongan male over sixteen years of age was to receive on application two
pieces of land: a tax allotment *('api tukuhau)* of 8¼ acres and a town
allotment *('api kolo)* on which to build a house. For his tax allotment,
an individual was to pay an annual rent of eight shillings to his noble if [427]
the land was on an hereditary estate, or to the Government, if the land
was on a government estate. Also, by law, the use of land was to be
inherited by the eldest son of the previous deceased holder. This system [428]
of land tenure exists to the present day, and is an important factor in [166]
stimulating the dispersion of Tongan kin groups from their native villages and islands. The complexities of the operation of this system in the
face of increasing population need not be considered here. Formerly, [565]
nobles had the power to distribute unused land on their *tofi'a*, but since [178]
there is so little land left undistributed in Tonga, this surviving noble
prerogative has lost much of its effect.

What has happened to patterns of rank in the kinship system, the class 178
system, and the descent system in the face of these changes can best be
approached by asking what has happened to the *ha'a* in modern Tonga. 613
As Aoyagi has shown, the concept of *ha'a* as a group in any of its [121]
previous uses has virtually no meaning for commoners on the village

178 level (Aoyagi, 1966). My own data bear this out - my informants did
613 not relate to any social grouping called a *ha'a* in whatever context.
However, as Kaeppler has demonstrated, *ha'a* membership is still a
central concern of nobles and their internal ranking as a class (Kaeppler,
[612] 1971). Commoners in modern Tonga are indirectly articulated into a
[565] single societal structure not as before, through reckoning membership in
descent groups that permeate the society in a single ramage, but rather
indirectly through their territorial and historic association with a particular
noble who in turn relates to the royal line through the old *ha'a*,
ramage ranking.

Consequently, the segmentary descent system which was the basic form
of traditional social structure has not disappeared in modern Tonga.
178 Rather, only its continuity has been lost. What were before both territorial
and segmentary units in the social structure have now become
613 almost completely territorial units. It is primarily a village identification
621 and only secondarily some general notions about being of the same blood
565 of the noble or the noble's people that articulate commoners into a
societal structure, the traditional elements of which are preserved exclusively
178 by the nobles. The loss of a predominantly descent identification
613 among commoners with the nobles and the king in an encompassing
societal structure has served to eradicate the segmentary basis on which
565 the class system was formerly superimposed in ancient Tonga. The
[612] demise of the continuous societal ramage in addition to Tupou I's reforms
concerning the nobility have produced a rigid and autonomous
178 class system in modern Tonga. At the same time, the introduction of
modern governmental apparatus and consequent opportunities for commoners
565 to rise within this system have cleared the way for the creation
554 of a commoner middle class defined by education and economic/occupational
status completely outside the surviving, rigid traditional class
system.

Paradoxically, the possibility for social mobility of Tongan commoners
through taking advantage of new economic and educational opportunities
is tied to cooperation among kinsmen whose relations still operate
178 on very traditional principles of status and rank. Of the three dimensions
565 of former Tongan social structure, the kinship system has probably
554 retained the most of a traditional flavor and content. The modified class
system also remains traditional, but it can be seen that the greatest
structural changes have occurred in the descent system. Most important,
however, both the class system and the kinship system still share the
same mould of rank concepts in modern Tonga.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

aware of the exact societal significance of the noble title to which they 565
are associated, they still have a keen sense of honor carried for them by 621
the title-holder. Still, the title-holder is not one of them, although he may
have been before succeeding to the title. Rather, he operates in and
becomes part of a different domain of social life in which commoners [276
have no part other than in the representation of their honor through 574]
the noble, i.e. the domain of kingship and royalty expressed most vividly
in the *taumafakava* or kava ceremony of the Tu'i, his *matāpules*, and
the nobles.

The various types of kava-drinking situations and the rituals asso- 276
ciated with them are the key to the contemporary preservation of 574
traditional aspects of Tongan social structure.[9] Kava-drinking is a highly
ritualized remnant of ancient Tongan customs, most of which were swept [178]
away with the virtual replacement of the important indigenous religious
belief systems and related ritual by Christianity. The differences in *fai* 276
kava (among commoners), *'ilo kava* (with a noble present), and a 574
taumafakava (with the Tu'i present) reflect, and are a visual mani-
festation of, Tonga's class structure. One's rank in the class structure is 565
seen by the observer in the hierarchical rituals of the various levels of
kava-drinking. The ritual and symbolic superiority of the noble over his
people is most striking in the *'ilo kava* ceremony both to the analyst and
the indigenous informant on the village level.

In sum, the centrifugal force of the family estate on village residents 621
is currently a major factor responsible for the erosion of the traditional 565
supports for the noble's *de facto* prerogatives and influence in the com-
munity. People who are interested in the development of their dispersed 612
estates, which may eventually be a means for their own social mobility, [554]
are less likely to be interested in the honor and status that they gain in
the traditional system through the person of the title-holder. To the
extent that this is true, the actual authority of nobles, at least in the

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[9] For previous discussions and descriptions of kava-drinking ceremonies in [114]
modern Tonga see Gifford, 1929, pp. 156-170; Beaglehole, 1941, pp. 112-122; Newell, 1947; Collocott, 1927; and most recently, Bott and Leach, 1972. These authors (except Beaglehole) concentrate largely on the highly ritualized kava-drinking ceremonies of the king and nobles. There is as yet no adequate ethnographic account of the commoner *fai kava*. This is an excellent example of how fascination with noble customs can lead to an overemphasis on the permeation of concern with rank in all institutions and within all classes. As I suggest here, the commoner *fai kava* is permeated much more with the egalitarian ethic of the *fonua* than with the hierarchical ideology of the societal class system.

mother's generation. This activates a status principle already operative 612
within the *ḳāinga*, in which ego may take what belongs to his mother's 554
brother. 428

The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges 612
among the *ḳāinga* can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods 554
and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while 602
he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives. 437

SOCIETAL RANKING—CLASS

At the level of the society as a whole, there are two kinds of ranking. 554
The first kind of societal ranking is class rank, which differentiates chiefs 565
(*'eiḳi*) from commoners (*tu'a*). This is further refined in two ways. First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and is known as the *tu'i* (or today, the King). Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is *matāpule*, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs. Thus the traditional class structure can be summarized as follows:

Tu'i: King;
'Eiḳi: Chiefs;
Matāpule: Ceremonial attendants;
Tu'a: Commoners.

Membership in one of the three classes (*'eiḳi, matāpule,* and *tu'a*) is ascribed by birth. A *matāpule* may be recruited from the *tu'a*, but the person selected usually has some genealogical tie to a *matāpule*. Marriage between an *'eiḳi* and a *tu'a* does not change the class of either, and their children are
known as *ngesi taha* (one-shelled). Since European contact in the time of [178]
Tupou I (1875), the chiefly division of the society has been further divided
to distinguish legal chiefs (nobles)from traditional chiefs. The nobles are [423]
the land holders and because of this have a great deal of power.[11] The other chiefs have only ceremonial significance and prestige because of their high birth, having descended from younger sons of former chiefs, nobles, and kings, or their daughters. The position of the traditional chiefs parallels the position of women in the *ḳāinga*, in that they have ceremonial status but no real power. What is important in the class system is the "blood" of both father and mother. It is possible, for example, to be a chief in the class system by virtue of genealogical chiefly connections, and to hold a *matāpule* title. The best known example of this is Tuita, who holds a *matāpule* title, but is a chief in the class system because of a series of marriages of the holders of the Tuita title to daughters of high chiefs. Such people are known as *mu'a 'eiḳi* (or simply *mu'a*) to show that they are *matāpule* by title but chiefs in the class system.

SOCIETAL RANKING—*Ha'a* 554

In the second kind of societal ranking, titles are ranked. The titles of 613
chiefs originated by a process of collateral segmentation starting from the 565
first Tu'i Tonga. The *matāpule* titles originated either when the individual

> all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage 613
> type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the 554
> ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a 565
> triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the 114
> highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village.
But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole tra- 613
ditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in 554
operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a
Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally 565
the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed [177]
settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa ḳolo* (town officer) [361]
and *pule faḳavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administra- [647]
tive system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical 554
system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs 565
from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who 178
succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their ad- 613
vantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society [581]
as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *ḳāinga* rank are [612]
acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to 554
the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs 565
and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away
from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This 276
visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one 574
dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a 613
different set was operating within the *ḳāinga*. On this particular occasion [612]
all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes
precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher [612]
status within their *ḳāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at 554 565

554
all levels. The concept of rank is, perhaps, the main factor in holding the 565
society together at its higher levels. That the family system need not have 554
the organization it has is apparent, and does not make for the most eco- 565
nomic running of a household. The family system is understandable, how- 182
ever, if one looks at it as a medium for inculcating values that are necessary 612
for the operation of the higher levels of society.

All Tongans are socialized into *kainga* status and operate by principles 554
on which this status is based. The differentiation of high and low in the 565
kainga is easily extended from the family to the chief-commoner division 612
of the society, the same terms *'eiki* and *tu'a* being used in both systems.
Only a few Tongans are socialized into the *ha'a* ranking system of the 554
societal structure, understand its workings, and know how to manipulate 565
it. Although everyone operates within this larger society, they do not par- 613
ticipate in the power-play of the *ha'a* heads. Indeed, according to Aoyagi,
many do not even know that *ha'a* exist. This raises the question of how
people can operate by rules which they do not know. One is led to conclude [612]
that though they do not know about *ha'a* ranking, they do know about
kainga inheritance, which uses the same principles of rank by genealogical
seniority, usually within the patrilineal line. One operates in various di- 554
mensions of the society using the same principles. There is no inherent 565
contradiction because the principles enculturated in the *kainga* carry over 182
almost imperceptibly into the societal system. Authority based on status
acknowledged within the *kainga* is a potent factor in the successful func- 612
tioning of the more loosely organized structure at the societal level, where 613
kin ties do not hold the systems together.

Kainga status is a reflection of, but not a subdivision of, the societal 554
system. Perhaps for a few generations at the beginning of the Tu'i Tonga 565
dynasty, the society could be subdivided into smaller and smaller divisions
ending with individual families. But any attempt to do this today would 613
take us into the realm of fiction. Generations of Polynesian political manip- [612]
ulation have evolved a complex stratified society whose higher levels hold [182]
together because of values learned at the *kainga* level. Authority and
decision making are vested in the genealogically senior male, and ceremonial
recognition is given to his sister and her children. In the same way au-
thority and decision making at the societal level are vested in chiefs. To
these *ha'a* heads individuals owe their allegiance either because they are
related or because they live on their land. A man gives to the chief the
same kind of obedience and deference that he expects from his *kainga*.
The chiefs in turn pay similar obeisance to the King.

Perhaps it is not premature to predict that, when change comes to the OOC
societal level, it will be because the family has changed first and no longer
inculcates the authority structure which is not needed at the family level,
but is almost certain death to the system if it does not exist at the societal
level. Signs of such change are already manifest in Tonga, especially in the 554
families of educated commoners who feel that authority should be delegated 565
to those who have ability rather than to those of high birth. The children of 178
these people are highly achievement motivated and are not likely to be 555

178

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually 559
inferior. 565

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. 555
Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an
organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of
rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which
indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles
from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare
and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional
principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details
that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary.
This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners 000
marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank.
But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political
power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet [565]
Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders [555]
by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate
from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional
leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

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1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from [122]
1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25,
984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation [114]
for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under
their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau
Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the
Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional
and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan
Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting
on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was [128]
little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently [127]
details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social
organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920. [178]
2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.
3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian [192]
mataqali and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.
4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring)
and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her be- [601]
havior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and [602]
correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.
5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.
6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* 602
(younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance 612
here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* 554
(fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle
does have importance, however, in inheritance. [601]
7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.
8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a* [764]
tu'asina of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* [601]
(for funerals only).

197 'peculiar way of speaking.' The language of Niuafo'ou, although it is
Tongan, has a dialect status which shows grammatical relationships with
Samoan. Unfortunately for the world of anthropological linguistics
this dialect has never been fully studied and it is in danger of dying
out, for the younger generation speaks the main dialect of Tongan and
535 only the remaining old people speak the Niuafo'ou dialect. The *tau*
● 178 *faka-Niua* is a dance local to Niuafo'ou, and it too is in danger of
being forgotten.

133
182 This chain of volcanic islands is relatively unimportant to Tonga
today, but it is these very islands that are important for an under-
standing of the ecology which supports the Tongan social system. The
main inhabited islands of the Tongan group are coral islands, which in
most Pacific areas would be associated with lack of fertile soil and
[134] often a subsistence level economy. In Tonga, however, the flat coral
islands have reaped the harvest of the close volcanic islands and the
resulting deep, rich volcanic soil has made it possible to develop an
economy of surplus to maintain Tonga's highly stratified social system.
[162] The population concentration is mainly on these low-lying islands to the
134 east of the volcanic chain. The largest of this group of limestone
133 islands, Tongatapu, is less than 270 feet high, but in many places has
241 a soil depth of ten feet. The soil is excellent and a very large
proportion of the islands are intensely cultivated. The main food
plants are yam, taro, sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, manioc,
[262] coconut, and breadfruit. In addition, fruit of the mango, orange,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a *tafua*, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The *tafua* was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and *haka*. Today the
fa'ahiula is often performed without *tafua* percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organization[3] is often 4 or 8.
In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the *tafua*. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (*fa'ahi*) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the *fa'ahiula* has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[829] such cases the Tongans rationalise that the words are Samoan, which is
the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of *fa'ahiula* poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organization' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

535 643 [178] [644] [795] [872] The *me'etu'upaki* was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, even more strongly than the *ula* and *fa'ahiula*. With changes in the societal structure of Tonga, that resulted in the Tu'i Kanokupolu becoming the ruling dynasty, and the institution of Wesleyanism almost as a State religion, the *me'etu'upaki* fell into disuse. Today it is associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga's village, Lapaha, and Catholicism. On the rare occasions of its performance, it is done mainly by Lapaha, Tu'i Tonga line, Catholic men. The last such performance is said to have been in 1945 at the 100th anniversary of the birth of George Tupou I. The *me'etu'upaki* today may also be performed by the boys of the Catholic high school at the end of the school year ceremonies. The dance is a difficult one, and it will probably not be many more years before it, too, will be dropped from the extant genres of Tongan dance. (For a more complete treatment of the societal aspects of the *me'etu'upaki*, see Kaeppler 1967b.)

535 We come now to the living Tongan dance genres of which there are three, *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga*.

LAKALAKA

Lakalaka is the contemporary dance type presented for formal occasions, whether they be government, church (especially Wesleyan), village, or family. On a government occasion *lakalaka* are performed by 'all' the men and women of a village, which is often over 100. On smaller specialized occasions there may be only about 30 dancers.

535 There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

114 I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the *lakalaka* is an
535 evolved form of the ancient dance type *me'elaufola*. Innovations were
178 dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping
[534] tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary
for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was
535 mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan
829 view the *lakalaka* is a recently created dance genre, and it is credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a *punake*, 'composer and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malukava. The official view of the government in regard to *lakalaka* is that it originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga. "The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

535 *Lakalaka* is performed by men and women together who stand in two or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are

535 *tau'olunga* at the informal level are still performed in this way. The dancer just dances 'making up' the movements as she goes along, choosing movements from her own dance-movement inventory. Some dancers are recognized as being particularly creative in the use of a large inventory of movements. These dancers are usually those who have taken part in other dance genres.

535 @178 Within the past twenty years it has become increasingly popular to choreograph *tau'olunga*, and some of these pieces have been elevated to semi-formal status. This has occurred for three reasons:

1) the lack of knowledge about Tongan dance among the younger generation,
2) the increasing popularity of the dance,
3) the patronage of the dance type by Queen Salote.

Knowledge of Tongan dance has attenuated to such a degree among the younger generation that many have never heard of *fa'ahiula*, *ula*, or *me'etu'upaki*, much less seen any. Those who have seen these dance types say they are too slow and uninteresting. They also dislike the chant-like quality of the accompanying music that is associated with the ancient genres, preferring instead the fast, Westernised music of the *tau'olunga*. Because the younger generation do not know the old dance genres they do not know the movements that are characteristic of them. I have seen some *tau'olunga* dancers perform a whole dance using only '*haka*' M.I.a.l., paradigm movements and slapping and clapping movements characteristic of the *fakataupasi* third section.

535 Although these are *tau'olunga* movements par excellence--variation as
178 well as personal interpretation are the marks of a good *tau'olunga*.
This small movement inventory of recall of most younger dancers has
535 led to the practice of choreographing the *tau'olunga*. Choreographed
tau'olunga are recognized as the easiest type of Tongan dance,
because there are usually no more than six short sections to learn.
These are:

1) the entrance into the dance space, which is usually one or two arm motifs such as M.I.c.4. and M.I.c.8. with forward walking steps, M.II.a.4.,

2) the *tau* or chorus, which is repeated alternately with the several stanzas,

3-5) movements for three (more or less) stanzas,

6) *fakataupasi* slapping clapping motifs for the last repetition of the *tau*.

A well choreographed *tau'olunga* can make a poor dancer appear to be much better than she is because of the varied and appropriate movements taught to her by the choreographer.

Tau'olunga has become more and more popular because it is easy
to do and it leaves a wide latitude for personal interpretation--which
[868] can range from grace and beauty to wantonness. Children grow up with
the *tau'olunga* and thus it is not necessary to consciously 'learn'
[183] anything except the sequence of movements. In recent years Tongans
have picked up the idea that time is money, and the less they must

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been in general use in pre-European times (wooden headrests, for example) 172
have been generally replaced by Western imports (pillows in this case). Many 565
chiefs, however, still make use of the traditional objects, especially on ceremonial 177
occasions (such as weddings when wooden headrests are part of the necessary
presentations).[12] Perhaps by the eighteenth century only the highest chiefs made 178
use of pottery, and the few pots needed were not manufactured in Tonga but
came from Fiji.

Some of the pottery-bearing areas were visited by Cook, who collected two 172
pots at Amsterdam (Tongatapu) on his second voyage.[13] On his third voyage
Cook met the Tamahā Moungalakepa and her brother Latunipulu and it is 177
conceivable that Cook received pots from them.[14] One of these pots eventually 113
reached England and became part of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum.[15] This pot 323
was purchased at the dispersal of the Leverian Museum in 1806 by a Mr Atkinson
as part of lot 4441, "... baked earthen bottle, New Amsterdam."[16] Although I
have found other items purchased by Atkinson, I have not yet found his Tongan
pot. There is a chance, however, that this eighteenth-century Tongan pot still
exists and will eventually help to settle the question regarding Tongan v.
Fijian manufacture of pottery during the eighteenth century.[17]

In a recent publication, Bulmer has concisely described the role of ethnography 172
in reconstructing the prehistory of Melanesia[18] and has encouraged ethno-
graphers and ethnohistorians to provide more useful data. A similar need exists 121
for Polynesian ethnographers to make their relevant material available for use
by archaeologists and prehistorians. Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga
have made some use of the ethnohistoric information, but more creative use of
this information, as well as ethnographic data, might contribute to a resolution
of the divergent explanations existing in the present interpretations in the Tongan
prehistoric sequence. Green, for example, explains the lack of pottery in certain 172
areas by a long aceramic horizon,[19] while Golson and Poulsen, basing their
explanation on a series of radiocarbon dates, had come to the opposite conclusion
that pottery was made for the total span of Tongan prehistory and up to the
period of European contact.[20] Green supports his view with the logical assump-
tion that if pottery were present in the historic and protohistoric period, it would
be mentioned in Tongan traditions.[21] However, an examination of such tradi-
tional material shows that mention of material culture of any kind is very rare
except for what Tongans consider *koloa* (valuables), namely mats and barkcloth
that are given on ceremonial occasions. Golson and Poulsen now would appear
to agree with Groube that C^{14} dates do not necessarily date pottery found in the
same levels.[22] Groube explains the distribution of pottery sites on ecological

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[12] At the time of European contact wooden headrests were elaborate and varied but by the twentieth century, when they were used mainly by chiefs, only two simple types survived.

[13] Beaglehole, 1961:265.

[14] Anderson (Beaglehole, 1967:942) and Samwell (Beaglehole, 1967:1037) both mention seeing pottery.

[15] It is more likely that the Leverian pot came from 3rd voyage (see Force, Force & Kaeppler, in preparation).

[16] Leverian Museum, 1806:207.

[17] The eighteenth century pot depicted in Labillardière is clearly a Fijian pot (1802, plate 31). It is difficult to tell whether the globular object depicted in Tasman's journal (Sharp, 1968:161) is a Fijian-style pot or a coconut water container.

[18] Bulmer, 1971.

[19] Green, 1972:83.

[20] Golson, 1971:74.

[21] Green, personal communication.

[22] Golson, personal communication.

597 depending on the rank of the namer). An adoption had to involve changes in
553 rank and changes in residence. *Olu* transactions, or adoptions in aboriginal
557 Tonga, were transactions between high-ranking individuals. Adoptions and
565 arranged marriages between high ranking individuals played an important part
581 in maintaining the overall stability of the island group.

Titles

597 What is important to stress for aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to
554 post-1875 Tonga, is the very important fact that *olu* transactions which
428 involved titles lasted only for one generation. In aboriginal Tonga, when an
178 adoption took place which involved the adoptee receiving a *hingoa*, or "title,"
from the adopting parent, that adopted-titled-individual could not transmit that title to his own biological (or adopted) child. The title which the adopted child eventually received would have to revert back to someone in the original line of descent in the *ha'a*.[4]

554 In aboriginal Tonga, titles were given to important individuals (male
613 and female) of the corporate land holding descent group, or *ha'a*. The title
was given as a specific form of recognition for the individual. When the individual Ngata received his title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, he gave his son Leilua the title *Ve'ehala*. Leilua was thus the first *Ve'ehala*, and *Ve'ehala* is roughly
423 translated as the "wrong footed man." With the title *Ve'ehala* there is
425 associated a specific area of land. It is the title of a man which was
transmitted to another individual after a title-holder died (or when a title-holder was unable to perform the duties associated with the title).

554 When a man could no longer hold a title, the title would not necessarily
428 go to the oldest natural (or adopted) son of the man; the title could be given
to a brother of the deceased (or incapacitated) title-holder, the title could be given to a child of the sister of the deceased title-holder, or the title could be
613 given to an adopted son of the deceased title-holder. In aboriginal Tonga,
succession to titles depended on several factors, and the decision to pass the title on was a joint decision of the *ha'a*. A prospective title-holder had to be of proper age, had to have the ability to handle the affairs associated with the title, had to have the support of the people to aid him, and had to have the proper rank to accompany the title.

571 The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas wrote in his journal on one
565 occasion that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the
554 chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything"
(J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 11, 1826). The titled individual known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to be supported by the various *ha'a* of Tonga to
643 received the title. Thomas recorded how one individual had given up the
"lotu" or Wesleyan religion

> 571 is probable that should this take place a war would be the immediate
> 565 consequence [Stress added] (W. Cross *Letter* of July 1, 1830).

643 The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was not deposed and a war did not take place at that time. The examples indicate, however, the flexible aspect of the Tongan concept of "chieftanship" in the nineteenth century, and also the aspect of consensus needed for leadership.

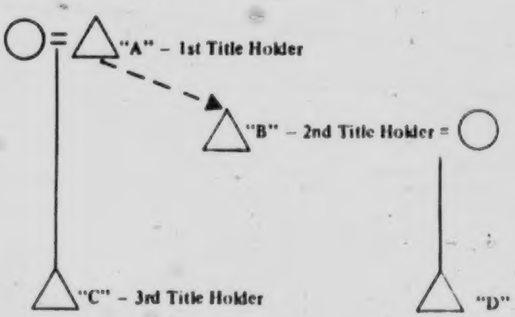
The Constitution

642 The Tongan Constitution of 1875 was promulgated by King George
571 Tupou I with the aid of European advice. What the Constitution did was to
554 remove the inherent flexibility concerning the inheritance of titles. Where
178 before the Constitution an individual received a title because of the consensus
[177] of the people, after 1875 a person received a title because of the law.[10,11]

642 In pre-1875 Tonga, if an adopted son of a titled individual succeeded to
597 the title of his adopting parent, the new titled individual would not transmit
428 that title to his own son. The new titled son was, in essence, only "holding"
554 the title until a proper heir to the title came of age (see Figure 1).
178

FIGURE 1

ADOPTION TRANSACTION



SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Title Holder "A" adopts individual "B"
Title Holder "A" dies – individual "B" selected as new Title Holder in lieu of "C"
Title Holder "B" dies – individual "C" selected as new Title Holder – Title has "reverted" to original descendants.

AFTER the Constitution of 1875, when Title Holder "B" died, the title did not go to individual "C" but went (because of the law) to individual "D."

Although the title would revert to someone in the original line of descent in 642
the *ha'a*, the rank of the adopted son was his own because of the adoption. In 597
pre-1875 Tonga the adopted son would not lose his rank yet his children 428
would not be eligible for the title. 554

With the Constitution of 1875 strict rules of primogeniture were 178
introduced *in lieu* of the consensus aspect. The King of Tonga was quite explicit about this in a speech he made to the Tongan Parliament in 1875:

> . . . the estate shall go with the title, and the succession shall be from the father to the son for ever. The Law of Succession is stated in the Constitution, and such succession shall be by blood relationship only: from to-day NO ADOPTED CHILDREN SHALL SUCCEED TO THE ESTATE OR TITLE OR TO ANYTHING; only the children of blood relations and by marriage [stress added] (in Hunter 1963:2).

At the time of the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875 there were a few title holders who were in fact adopted sons; with the Constitution in effect these adopted title holder sons PASSED THE TITLES ON TO THEIR OWN BIOLOGICAL SONS when they eventually died or were unable to perform the duties associated with the title. With the Constitution of 1875, the concept of reverting a title to the original line of descent was no longer valid, and adopted sons could no longer be considered potential title holders at all.

Because titles could not revert with the Constitution in effect, when the [691]
adopted title holder sons died and when the titles were passed on to their own biological sons, several court cases developed. The original descendants (or potential recipients of a title) claimed the title because of custom, but the law of the Constitution stated otherwise. Tongans eventually came to realize the inequities of the 1875 Constitution, and eventually the Constitution was ammended in 1953. Tongans realized that:

> According to chiefly Tongan customs, when a chief adopted a child to his family, the adopted child was given the title of that family -- a mark of recognition equivalent to the modern registration of adoption. It was also a sign of the acceptance of the adoption by the family. THE ADOPTED PERSON HELD THE TITLE UNTIL HIS DEMISE WHEN THE TITLE REVERTED TO THOSE ENTITLED TO IT BY BLOOD RELATIONSHIP [stress added] (Hammett 1961 *in* Hunter 1963:179).

Tongans realized that:

> . . . the Law of Succession contained in the Constitution was contrary to, but nevertheless must take precedence over the chiefly Tongan custom relating to adopted sons who had been appointed to hold a chiefly title and the rights of their descendants to inherit their titles (*ibid.*, p. 180).

As a result of the court cases and the fact that the law of the land did go against the custom of the land, in 1953 the Constitution was amended "to ensure that the law of succession to the titles of nobles should take

642 cognisance of the old and well-known chiefly custom concerning adopted
597 children" (*ibid.*). The Constitutional Ammendment, Act No. 15 of 1953,
428 added the following paragraph to Section 107 of the Constitution:

> 554
> 178 Whereas by Tongan Custom PROVISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN MADE THAN AN ADOPTED CHILD MIGHT SUCCEED TO THE ESTATES AND TITLES OF HIS ADOPTIVE FATHER now therefore it is decreed that upon the death of the holder of an estate or title who has inherited such estate or title by virtue of his blood descent from such adopted child the estate and title SHALL REVERT TO THE DESCENDANT BY BLOOD OF THE ORIGINAL HOLDER OF THE ESTATE AND TITLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS CLAUSE . . . [stress added] (Wylie 1967:1:36).

Thus, in the twentieth century, Tongans realized the efficacy of adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga and have incorporated what was once custom into the laws of the Kingdom for matters concerning high ranking individuals.

Conclusions

121 The major purpose of this brief paper has been to present descriptive and interpretive data on aboriginal adoption transactions in Tonga. Although
597 numerous activities involved transactions between kin (*tauhi, ngaahi, fakahingoa, pusiaki,* and *ohi*), the data and interpretation show that there was only one concept in aboriginal Tonga which should be given the gloss "adoption," and that was an *ohi* transaction, a transaction involving permanent change in the rank and residence of the adopted individual. *Ohi* transactions took place between high ranking individuals for political purposes.

121 The second purpose of this paper has been to point out that aboriginal Tonga is certainly not twentieth century Tonga. Scarr (1967:4) has written of
597 a "rigidity" in Tongan social structure, springing "in part, from primogeni-
428 ture," yet it was only with the Constitution of 1875 that strict rules of
178 primogeniture were introduced into Tonga. King George was most emphatic
642 in his 1875 statement to Parliament concerning the strict succession "from father to son for ever" and the new emphasis that "no adopted children"
[114] could ever succeed to anything. This is why the Beagleholes were in error in their 1941 work when they dealt with *ohi* transactions and stated that the child so adopted "will also expect to inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents" (1941:70). It would have been true before the constitution, but in the twentieth century it was simply against the law.

597 Although the Tongan Constitution was amended in 1953 for cases
642 ralating to high ranking Tongans and *ohi* transactions, for the bulk of the
565 populace the situation remains the same: no adopted child can inherit from
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his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from 597
his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga 642
stated: 428

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to [565]
> the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*)

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitu- [565]
tion for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the
twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For [425]
the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is [423]
extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The 178
"Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and 177
flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be 121
made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present. 122 [101]
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" 597
(C. M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was 855
recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse, a

"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau 557
Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:I: p.90 and p. 553
310). A later paper is planned.

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the 597
indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not 609
change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do 597
anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too 581
much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in 797
the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made
"merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed"
(W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.

9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. 597
Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i* 554
Ha'ateiho (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a 428
constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford [1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.

10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often 642
overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific 571
statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the 554
Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74). 178

11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the 276
King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for 574
all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed
according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This 554
admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa*
kava sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are [601]
often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some
changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans [177]
and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle
was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in
contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual
has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs [178]
today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of
serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa* 276
kava sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a 574
frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. 521
The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of [182]
conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely 276
spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good 574
friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a [643]
particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below. [186]

> coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old 558 Vaea of Houma was the principal person in the Party, AND AFTER 798 CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGUN, HE STATED THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAKANO 276 because this one had embraced Christianity, and that as he himself had 574 not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivakano that he might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Chiefdom, but somewhat Idolatrous). He wished to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only anxious to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some Idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tui'i Vakano] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the Idol temples, if the term be not too grand for them. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WAS TO BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company; and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vaea said "Let Vaea mo Mataello Tuivakano (former name) go down and let Tuivakano come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAKANO AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA RING. Soon after this, old Maafu and Lavaka two chiefs still heathen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest figure in the persecution last year, arrived at the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vaea mo Mataele NOW NO LONGER TUIVAKANO shall leave Beka, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed 425 from their positions of authority at a *kava* ceremony, but land was also 276 apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain *kava* ceremonies. As 574 another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported: 634

> This has been a very important day. At the *Kava* ring this morning, two or three Malagas, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in subjection to the King [*Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).[5]

The various *kava* ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a 276 variety of purposes. *Kava* ceremonies could be held just to share information 574 and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more important functions, such as title installation or removal or the division of 178 land. The drinking of *kava* always was an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongans have shared and discussed social activities. *Kava* drinking has been the way that Tongans [186] maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonialism.

The 'Inasi Ceremony and the Taumafa Kava

651 In aboriginal Tongan society the major event which unified the entire island group was the ceremony known as the *'inasi.* The *'inasi* was an extremely important event which gave substance to a unified Tonga long before the celebrated bloody unification of the islands by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou I after various wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852. [178] [543] [643] In the twentieth century a unique structural transformation has taken place and the unifying principles which were supplied by the *'inasi* have now been taken over by annual "agricultural shows" which His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV attends.[6]

The term *'inasi* was transcribed in the nineteenth century Wesleyan dictionary as "Inaji" and defined as "a heathen ceremony; portion, part, share" (Rabone 1845:17). An earlier nineteenth century definition from Mariner, when the term was transcribed as "Inachi," has "a share; also the name of a certain public ceremony of a religious nature" (1817:no page number). The contemporary twentieth century dictionary defines it as a verb to mean "to have or receive a share" and as a noun:

> (in old Tonga) presentation of food to the Tu'itonga in a way that came to be regarded as inconsistent with the Christian religion (Churchward 1959:561).

651 649 In aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to twentieth century interpretations of what aboriginal Tonga was like, the *'inasi* ceremony was neither confined strictly to foodstuffs nor was it presented solely in the presence of the *Tu'i Tonga.* In this latter point W. Lawry is quite clear when he wrote in October of 1822 (when an eyewitness to an *'inasi* ceremony) from the island of Tongatapu, the only place where the *'inasi* was held:

> It is remarkable, howerver, that at present there is no Tooitonga – so they wave their yams before the place where he used to sit (Diary: October 21, 1822).

651 Although yams are mentioned by Lawry, it is quite evident from extant manuscript accounts that more than food was involved in the *'inasi* ceremony: the Island of Uvea, approximately 550 miles from Tongatapu Island (and outside of the archipelago proper) sent "pearl shells as tribute" for the *'inasi* ceremony; the Island of Niua Fo'ou, approximately 390 miles from Tongatapu sent "iron wood of a superior kind" as well as "kie's, or fine matts to wear." Foodstuffs were also sent to the *'inasi* ceremony but they were certainly not confined to yams: Toku Island, approximately 200 miles from Tongatapu sent "the young of a sea bird" and the Island of Nomuka, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "sent fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" for the ceremony (Thomas MS:5:23-24).

The *'inasi* ceremony then involved more than the presentation of foodstuffs as Mariner, the non-missionary eyewitness of the 1806-1810

period, pointed out: it was a "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." 651
Aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony
since, when the *Tu'i Tonga* was present, the products were presented to him; 651
when he was not present, they were presented in his absence to the gods. 643
Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga* that he was:

> viewed as the representative of the god Hikuleo, a kind of connecting 776
> link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at 782
> Olotele [on the Island of Tongatapu] (MS:1a:252).

Hikule'o was the god of nature and there were two yearly *'inasi* ceremonies, the *'inasi 'ufimui* and the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a.* The *'inasi 'ufimui*, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, June-July, was an acknowledgement of the "first young yams" and the crops which were planted and also a "thanksgiving to the odooa" or *'otua* named Hikule'o (Wilson 1799:259). The *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* (with *motu'a* meaning mature) was held in approximately the September-November period. Thomas wrote that this ceremony:

> consisted of offerings of old yams brought to the Civil Ruler to show the prosperity of the land, and that the old stock had lasted till the new were fit to dig up (MS:5:19).

Although this ceremony involved the "Civil Ruler" (either the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, depending on what time period we are writing about) religious beliefs were still inextricably interwoven with the ceremony. In his *Journal* for October of 1828 the Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross wrote:

> Today there is to be an annual meeting of the principal part of the inhabitants of the island, to be held at the Mua [on Tongatapu]. The design of this meeting is that they may present their offerings to their gods. According to the Tonga customs it is the business of the Tuikanakabola to preside at this meeting. But he having renounced his former religion was very reluctant to go. But thro the persuasions of some of his people he is going but does not intend to officiate in any way. This meeting is nearly kept up several days (1828:October 10/12).

Both *'inasi* ceremonies in Tonga were a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased and during the nine-day period of the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony singing, dancing, and games also took place (Wilson 1799:259; Mariner 1817:207-215).

This was all a part of the religious and political aspects involved in giving thanks to the gods and acknowledging their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a on Tongatapu were redistributed among the chiefs and the priests of the various deities, including the Tu'i Tonga as representative of Hikule'o.[7]

In the wake of the extensive "Westernization" of Tonga neither of the 651
'inasi ceremonies are currently held. BUT there are new unifying themes for 178
modern Tonga: in *lieu* of the *'inasi 'ufimui* which took place in aboriginal 643
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651 Tonga in approximately June. His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now
178 opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the
'inasi 'ufimotu'a ceremony which took place in approximately the September-November
643 period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to
644 the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly
646 agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over
543 (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly
agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in
643 approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows.
644 However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture
646 shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place
484 on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point
543 for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the
276 Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for
the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function
574 as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the
[186] agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the
contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the
543 entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are
484 complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for
643 redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops,
traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden
[526] pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals
(and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing,
foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under
178 the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under
651 the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

543 The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious
543 observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amusement
and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture
[651] shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and
[537] the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the
543 shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and
643 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances
276 are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa*
574 *kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at
[186] the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging
to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the
[644] *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava*
and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

643 The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day.
276 With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by
means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the
574 "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.
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Conclusions

The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the
121 years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since
276 alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in
178 this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which
Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava*
121 drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve"
276 feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems;
178 [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all
important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava*
186 drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-
182 Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with
non-Tongans.

There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on
276 which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the
574 Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a
643 *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any
certainty as to the serving order of the *kava.* The precedence of serving for all
non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on
the occasion and those present.

As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the
121 twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption
276 since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of
186 Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities
[543] concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava* sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan
121 way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consump-
276 tion patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a prepon-
273 derance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted. 276
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
   Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a 186
   Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was
   conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 524
   1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
   libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
   the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
   "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
   and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
   be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
   beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid
   essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays. 273
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
   roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands [656]
   from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan]
   Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
   their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
   used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
   distribution at a *kava* ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
   place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
   course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
   all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
   come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
   refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
   OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE
   TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN 609
   THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
   things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
   [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
   Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
   Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
   THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress
   at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837). 634
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
   14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
   part on *H.M.Y. Kao.* Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
   some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
   minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
   everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
   has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
   discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
   ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
   society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and 276
   Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
   agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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ed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society, or LMS) 175
and they arrived at Tongatapu on April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; 177
Wilson 1799: 96). Ten male missionaries landed and some remained until 797
1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One missionary, Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the *anga-faka-Tonga* or 'Tongan way of life' (Vason 1810). The Wesleyan 797
Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August 177
of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied by his wife and several servants (including Europeans and a Marquesan islander) (see Lawry's *Diary* for August, 1822). This attempt at Christian conversion also ended in failure with Lawry being ordered by London to be "removed from Tonga to Van Diemen's Land" (Lawry, *Diary*: July 26, 1823). Lawry eventually left the island in October of 1823, and it wasn't until 1826 that a second Wesleyan mission was attempted in the archipelago. In June of 1826 the Wesleyan missionaries John Thomas and John Hutchinson arrived, with their wives, and this mission eventually proved succesful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained European contact.

The various published accounts of the individuals of this period 114
(1616–1826), combined with twentieth-century field work, have allowed us to make inferences about aboriginal Tongan culture (Coult 1959, for example), yet no systematic attempt had ever been made to incorporate manuscript materials into (1) an aboriginal ethnographic base line, and (2) an analysis of changing Tongan culture. What were the processes by which the aboriginal Tongan culture of 1800 developed into the Constitutional Monarchy of 1875?

The date of 1875 is extremely important in Tongan studies, for in many 178
respects the Tonga of pre-1875 was not the same as the Tonga of post- 177
1875. In 1875 the Tongan Constitution was promulgated by the *Tu'i* 178
Kanokupolu King George Tupou I, with the help of European advice. 177
The Constitution was the result of Western influence on Tonga and the 642
culmination of all of the written Tongan law codes in effect in the archipelago since 1839. The date of 1850 given in Murdock's *Ethnographic* 177
atlas (1967) for Tonga, for cross-cultural research of a certain type, can 178
be extremely misleading, for by this time two major wars (as a result of nineteenth-century Western influence) had been fought in the archipelago 114
(1837 and 1840), the Tongan language reduced to a systematic orthography (c. 1830), and a European-induced codified system of laws had already been in effect for certain parts of the archipelago for many years (in the island groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai). Certainly Goldman's most recent 177
work which suggests 1800 as the "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian 178

177 society merits closer consideration than 1850 for Tonga (Goldman 1970:
178 xxviii).

178 Utilizing 1800 as a reference date for Tonga, one has a dynamically
554 operating and changing Polynesian society, with an elaborate system of
rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on kinship and achieve-
[114] ment). Changes in the rank and status systems resulted from Western
contact but these have not always been successfully analyzed or reported
in ethnographic accounts.[a]

ABORIGINAL TONGA

643 There are four major titles in Tonga with which we are concerned: *Tu'i*
644 *Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and *Tamaha*. When the
554 various missionaries arrived in the archipelago, they grasped part of the
cultural system of ranking. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry recorded in his diary for September 13, 1823, that

> the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz: –
> 1. Tooitonga [*Tu'i Tonga*]
> 2. Tooihatacalowa [*Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*]
> 3. Tooicanacabooloo [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*]

Another Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas (in the archipelago from

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121 [a] The only way in which a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal
127 culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining
to that culture and then make comparisons between the old information and new in-
[114] formation gathered by contemporary field work. Urbanowicz (1972) provides a
detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research.

127 Ethnohistorical techniques were used to extract ethnographic information of the past
from the documentary materials. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a body of documents specifically chosen for the construction of an historical ethnography (See Fenton 1962; Sturtevant 1966). The ethnohistorian focuses on the "ethno-" in the term, in presenting an ethnography of a given group of people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it eventually contributes to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by ethnographers is not synonymous with culture history, as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971: 21).

121 Every ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must
read background material prior to beginning field work and must weigh and assess previous research reports; and every ethnohistorian is at heart an ethnographer,
combining archival research with field work among the contemporary people. This is
128 why I went to Tonga. Also see Cohn 1968; Dodge 1968; and Lurie 1961. Original
orthography has been maintained throughout this paper.

643 of aboriginal Tongan culture and a leader needed the support of the
175 people around him. Such support came from numerous plural marriages
571 and successful leadership. Laufilitonga, the last individual to hold the title of *Tu'i Tonga*, was delayed in being appointed to his position in the early
643 part of the nineteenth century because of the inability of a secular ruler to support him. Thomas wrote of the *hau* as King, that:

> It is said had the King's party been succesful in the war in the Anga, it was the intention of the King to have presented his daughter Halaevalu to Laufilitonga as his wife, and to have appointed him to office as Tuitonga but though a battle was fought and many fell on both sides — no victory was gained — The evils they had hoped to have removed were allowed to remain — as the King could not remove them — his daughter was therefore not so given — neither was the chief appointed to office, but remained at Vavau where he had been brought up (Thomas MS. 4:192).

643 After the separation of sacred from secular matters in aboriginal Tonga,
554 the *Tu'i Tonga* was still esteemed and revered but more as an intercessor with the Tongan deities. Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga:*

> [793] The office of the Tuitonga was still esteemed, and became one of vast importance, even as the connective link between the gods and the people; he was not a high priest but a friend, or representative of the gods, his office as with his person was considered sacred (Thomas MS. 5:1).

Other eye-witnesses of the early nineteenth century corroborated this, as the Wesleyan missionary N. Turner relates:

> Many were present at the service this afternoon and were very attentive. The Tui Toga was there, who is by birth and rank according to their former superstitions the greatest Man in all these islands. Tho the nature of his office forbids him to have anything to do with public affairs. According to the ancient customs of Toga he is altogether a sacred person (N. Turner, Letter-Journal dated November 29, 1828, reporting events of October 28, 1828).

178

643 Eventually, however, as a result of Western contact (specifically the
177 Wesleyan missionaries in the nineteenth century) the position of the *Tu'i Tonga* was totally eclipsed by that of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Laufili-
643 tonga, the last *Tu'i Tonga*, had eventually been installed in his office in 1827 and held the title until his death in 1865. Although he requested that a *Tu'i Tonga* be appointed after his death, no such appointment was made by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou. As a point of fact, at a Tongan parliamentary meeting in 1875 King George Tupou stated:

> You must remember that I was conferred with the following two titles during the 643
> meeting that was held in Vava'u, Tu'itonga and Tu'iha'atakalaua together with
> my own title of Tu'ikanokupolu (Hunter 1963:4).

This was the ultimate consolidation of King George's rise to power. A 643
recent assessment by Latukefu of King George, or Taufa'ahau, is worth
considering: 177
797

> It appears, however, that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of Christianity was 557
> only a part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,
> superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also [incidentally] his religion, to
> achieve his ambitions (Latukefu 1970:61).

With the eventual decline in the rank and status of the *Tu'i Tonga* and 643
the concomitant rise of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the position of the *Tamaha* 644
also suffered a decline. Where the titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* 554
meant that the individual so invested was responsible, respectively, for [178]
sacred and secular matters, Thomas has pointed out that in aboriginal
Tonga the *Tamaha* "is more a title of honour than office" (MS. 4: 30).
Although the *Tamaha* was usually held by a female, Thomas also pointed 644
out that "there may, in the absence of a female, be a male *Tamaha* 562
— which thing has been known to occur, but generally it is a female"
(ibid.).

The rank and status associated with that of the *Tamaha* was extremely 644
high in Tongan culture, and early nineteenth-century observers were astute
enough to point this out. The French navigator, Dumont D'Urville 554
reported of his 1827 visit to Tongatapu:
644
554

> all the people of Tonga, without exception, even the toul-tonga and the toul-
> Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, while she was 643
> not obliged to honour anyone in this way (n.d.:27).

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show [576]
to a superior, with the inferior person bowing down to touch the head to
the soles of the superior person's feet.

Dumont D'Urville, however, was also aware of the fact that by showing 644
deferential respect one did not necessarily acknowledge power and
authority, and he pointed out that the *Tamaha* "was reverenced in the [554]
islands although she only had any real authority over her personal
property and her people in Ardeo" (ibid.). She not only had authority
over "Ardeo," or *Ha'ateiho* (an area on Tongatapu), but it also extended
into the Ha'apai islands. Of the person designated the *Tamaha*, Thomas [554]
wrote:

644 while it raised the individual in the estimation of all her friends, she was by this
554 means brought so near to the gods, as to be a kind of divinity herself to the
people, and was much sought unto as such (Thomas MS. 5:4).

The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that
"the *Tamaha* is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands"
(Webb, Letter-Journal of March 1, 1843, for the events of August 12,
[643] 1842). Where the *Tu'i Tonga* was the representative of the gods on earth,
the *Tamaha* herself was virtually viewed as a god.

644 Although the Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the
797 *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga to Wesleyanism, they failed (and the *Tu'i Tonga*
became a Catholic); on the other hand, the *Tamaha* converted to Wes-
177 leyanism and the missionaries scored quite a coup on aboriginal religious
[643] beliefs when this happened. Thomas wrote in his Journal that "Tamma ha
has turned to God — also her brother Fehokohaabai, and all the people
of Tungua have turned" (Thomas, *Journal 5*, December 12, 1832). Gradual-
ly, Tongan culture changed in the nineteenth century under the pressure
of the Wesleyan missionaries.

554 The four titles of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and
565 *Tamaha* thus represented the core of titles of aboriginal Tongan culture.
643 From these four titles all other titles developed and as Thomas stated
644 175 (as cited earlier), "formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga"
for whom one would apply the term *'eiki* (Thomas MS. 5: 1). The concept
554 of *'eiki* has changed over time in Tonga, but this change has not always
565 been understood and interpreted by all European observers. Writing of
644 these four core titles in the nineteenth century, one astute eyewitness to
643 changing Tongan culture did comprehend the changes in part:

● 178
> It may be noticed that the term Eiki applied to the above chiefs and their
> 175 families almost exclusively in gone by days, and was a very choice word, but of
> later years it has become more common (Thomas MS. A1961: 7).

554 In aboriginal Tonga, individuals closely related to the *Tu'i Tonga* were
565 termed the *Sino'i 'eiki*, literally 'the body of the *'eiki*' (Churchward 1959:
644 430). These included the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and the
643 *Tamaha*. In aboriginal Tonga, *'eiki* was a concept of nobility, or noble
175 birth. *'Eiki* is not immediately synonymous with 'chief' as numerous
→114 early European observers recorded.

554 One of the earliest voyage accounts of Schouten and Le Maire from
565 1616 has *Ariki* for 'King' (Dalrymple 1770–1771: II; n.p.). The various
175 vocabularies connected with Cook's voyages have, for the Tongan
114 vocabularies, *'Eegee* as 'a chief' (Anderson, in Beaglehole 1967: 956),

CHANGES

With sustained European contact, culminating in the Tongan Constitu- 178
tion of 1875, aboriginal Tongan culture changed. The Constitution was 642
promulgated by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou with the aid of 643
European advice. King George's refusal to install a *Tu'i Tonga* after the [177]
death of Laufilitonga in 1865 has already been discussed. With the Constitution of 1875 King George totally consolidated his position (receiving the titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*) and removing the inherent consensus and flexibility concerning the rights of chieftainship.[4]
The flexible system of titles and inheritance passed out of existence and a 178
rigid father-to-son inheritance system was initiated. Where before a 428
person received a title because of ability and consensus, now a person 554
received a title because of the law. A completely workable system of 565
status achievement had been removed and in its place a system of 642
ascribed status substituted.

With the Constitution of 1875 King George created the hereditary class 178
of nobles, or *nopele*, who are included in the generic gloss *hou'eiki*. The 565
Constitution created the *'eiki nopele*, but some of these *'eiki nopele* were 554
only *matapules*, or titled non-*'eiki* in aboriginal Tonga, and hence were 642
only *'eiki* in name and not *'eiki* by noble birth.

Prior to the Constitution, no one individual could hold more than one title, since the title-holder was responsible to a specific group of people. Now, as a result of the Constitution there are men holding two titles, the most notable being Honorable Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili, and an individual has to divide his time, and hence his obligations, between two different groups of people.

In aboriginal Tonga, women always had important positions in the 562
society, with the *Tamaha* being the classic example, With the passage of 644
time, the descendants of the *Tamaha* have suffered (Kaeppler 1971: 183), 178
although the *Tamaha* herself had extremely high rank and status in 554

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[4] It was not written into the Tongan Constitution that *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George [554]
was given the two titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*. King George merely said that he "was conferred" with the two additional titles; however, at the same [565]
parliamentary meeting, King George said: "However I now desire to appoint paramount chiefs for these two dynasties as well as the Hangatatupu so I now confer the [428]
following titles and they are to be hereditary. (1) Tungi and his descendants to be head of the Ha'atakalaua for ever. (2) Kalaniuvalu and his descendants to be head of the Kauhala'uta [of the *Tu'i Tonga*] for ever. ..." (In Hunter 1963: 4). One of the reasons that this was done was because of the fact that it was eventually written into the Tongan Constitution that if King George Tupou I were to have no legitimate heirs, the "Crown of Tonga" was to "descend to Uiliami Tugi and his lawful heirs" (King George Tupou I in *Tonga Government Gazette*, Volume II; 35E, December 16, 1885, page 1; also see Wylie 1967: I, 21).

562
644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
178

INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monar-
643 chial form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat bloodthirsty unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou, later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discussions pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank was something which came about because one was born into the position. Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leadership or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
642 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:
829

> 643 Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times* explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent 361
to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt
that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for 369
him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000
people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban
area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the
iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but
beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of
the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees.
More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking
the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer
inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent
of the population live in rural conditions.[14] There is no sewerage, [364]
reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the [365]
population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous
materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the [362]
town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does
the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land,
and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its
position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a
broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to 423
the feudal days of the primitive nobility[15] *and* to early attempts by 177
the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition
to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian 178
England.[16] This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and 643
Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was
consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an
attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and
it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a
modified and apparently modern or western form.[17] Thus, all land 423
belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in
the form of hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. These *tofi'a* are subsequently
divided into *'api kolo* or town allotments and *'api tukuhau* or
country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a
town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be exercised.
The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually [428]
inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the
eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no [369]
way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land
and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern.
Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance.
Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were
without registered *'api tukuhau* in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional 369
values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; 184
the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see
Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, 674
prostitution, the fakafefine and prisoners are much the same among the [369]
upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. [184]
Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who
avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an unmarried mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk
to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the
community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken [784]
when one breaks social tapu concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in
the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, 571
to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and
satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and 182
economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money
conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of [178]
tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are
few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in
attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional
societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, 121
there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have 369
described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro
town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not
help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town
are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or
bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly
peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural
phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar
and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural
socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In
the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a
society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear [565]
in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet
exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are 178
"all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a
result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their 171
indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one 121
on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result.
The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not 121
predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off.
At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural 369
element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

121 economy remains labour intensive, the imbalance of the economy ensures
369 a continued flow of peasant immigrants and kinship ties continue to
provide security for the poor and status for the well-off. The "ruralisation" of Nuku'alofa is likely to continue because rural and traditional attitudes and forms of activity are a real and very necessary means of tackling urban problems.

000 It seems likely that only drastic internal changes can lead to a breakdown of the existing socio-economic relations based on kin. Peasant societies generally have shown a tremendous resilience and capacity for survival and there is no reason to suppose that urban peasant societies are more brittle. It is as well to recall, also, that Tongans long ago demonstrated their capacity to change forms without undermining substances.

369 Nuku'alofa in these respects is neither totally unique nor
[177] solely transitional; it is a variant resulting from its own histori-
cal experience of the impact of western technology and economic
[178] organisation upon a traditional socio-economic system. It represents
but one shade within the vast spectrum of urbanism in underdeveloped
[171] countries.

161

explanation seems to lie in the relationship between settlement and 162
marine resources. In the past, fishing and reef-collecting were 361
important subsistence activities along with food cropping, although [226]
in recent years they have declined as canned meat and fish have
become more easily obtainable. Settlement therefore tended to con- [178]
centrate along the most productive shores; in Tongatapu, for
instance, over 70 per cent of the villages are located along the low
northern shore and around the lagoon, the areas considered to be
the most productive in seafoods, while in Ha'apai, which has
particularly extensive reefs and fishing grounds, only the very
smallest islands or those without *kelefatu* soils have failed to attract
settlement. Conversely, in 'Eua the surrounding reef is narrow and [133]
sometimes dangerous and the offshore waters deep and unsheltered,
and until recently the island, despite its size, had only a tiny popula-
tion. Population densities were therefore higher where shores and
reefs were productive but the land area limited, as in western
Tongatapu, Ha'apai and parts of southern and eastern Vava'u, than
where productive shores were backed by extensive areas of land, as
in central and eastern Tongatapu. The lowest population densities
were along unproductive shores, as in 'Eua, western Vava'u and
parts of the south coast of Tongatapu.

This subsistence-orientated distribution of population in the past 166
has by now been considerably modified by internal migration, which
constitutes the second broad explanation of the present population
pattern. Internal migration is largely directed towards Nuku'alofa,
the capital, central and eastern Tongatapu and 'Eua, and away from
western Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u and Niuatoputapu. It reflects [184]
movement in search of employment, education, land for cash crop-
ping, and the attractions of urban life and is a result of the growing
regional inequalities in development and opportunities within
Tonga. Further discussion of migration, however, will be left to a
later section, where it is examined in the context of the response of
Tongans to population pressure. The main effect of internal migra- 166
tion on the earlier pattern of population distribution has been to 162
reduce the contrasts between central and eastern Tongatapu and the
long standing areas of high population density, but as migration 161
appears to be continuing at a high rate further changes in population
distribution can be expected.

Having outlined the main elements of land resources and popu- 128
lation distribution we may now turn to the question of population

423 and the 1966 Census enumerated 20,003 males aged 16 and over.
161 A second reason is the uneven distribution of population discussed
in the previous section. In areas where population densities are about
162 180/km^2 and over (i.e. 0·56ha or less, per person, of all land), most
holdings have for many years been less than 3ha; when cadastral
surveys were first carried out in these areas the population density
was already such that holdings were generally about 1 to 2·5ha, and
any attempt to stick to the statutory size of allotments would have
423 led to the dispossession of many landholders. Despite the small size
of the holdings there are still many more men entitled to land than
there are allotments, and the typical pattern of land distribution in
these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai)
and Ha'avakatolo (Tongatapu) in Table 7.2. In Ha'afeva the high
level of landlessness is partly a result of the fact that nearly half the
persons who held land on the island in 1966 lived elsewhere in
Tonga, and this phenomenon of a large number of absentee landholders
is common to many islands in Ha'apai. In areas of moderate
population density (around 100 to 150/km^2) the pattern of land
distribution is as shown in the date for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and
Ha'ateiho in central Tongatapu. On these estates almost all allotments
are of 3·2ha and consequently a larger proportion of taxpayers
and households are generally without land than is the case in villages
with higher population densities. Where population density falls to
about 80/km^2 or less the pattern of land distribution is represented
by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu, where in 1962 only
3 per cent of the households had no land. Landlessness on this
Government estate would have been even less had it not been for
the fact that one-third of the registered allotments on the estate were
held by people who lived in other settlements, mostly either in
nearby villages or in Nuku'alofa, a not uncommon feature of
Government estates in eastern Tongatapu.

These data on the percentage of households are by themselves of
only limited value in an assessment of population pressure. The fact
that a man does not hold land, or has only a small allotment, does
not necessarily mean that he does not have satisfactory access to
423 land for food production and cash cropping. The borrowing of land
from relatives, friends, villagers and estate-holders is common
427 throughout Tonga, and has its basis in the customary, although now
178 weakened, obligations that exist between kinsmen, friends and a
[241] chief and his people. It is fairly easy to borrow land for growing

423 short-term subsistence crops, even in densely populated areas, and
427 although many villagers claim that it has become more difficult in
[178] recent years it is hard, if not impossible, to find a rural family short of
food simply because they cannot borrow enough land for gardening.
[241] When land is borrowed from a relative no direct payment is usually
made, but in borrowing from others it is customary to give a small
[687] part of the crop to the landholder. Although it is illegal, there appear
[178]

592 **Table 7.3** **Cash-crop income and area of land held by household, Tongatapu, 1961**
511
423

	Land held by household		
	No land	*1 allotment (2·7–3·8 ha)*	*2 allotments (6·3–7·4 ha)*
Number of households	31	59	17
Mean cash-crop income ($A)			
per capita	18·4	36·4	36·4
per adult male (aged 16 and over)	69·8	157·6	152·8

423
427
687 to be a growing number of cases in which a cash payment is made
178 for the use of land.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult. The
423 demand for such land has increased with the growth of the popula-
178 tion and the greater commercialization of Tongan agriculture, while
241 in Tongatapu, where the demand is greatest, the amount of spare land has decreased markedly in the last decade as a result of the allocation of allotments in the eastern half of the island, and an increase in banana planting by landholders in response to the improved market in New Zealand. Furthermore, the customary obligation to assist relatives and others, evolved in a society with a subsistence economy, applies less strongly to the rather different
423 conditions of commercial agriculture. Men borrowing land are increasingly having to pay a cash rental. While some of the large-
427 scale banana growers, and market gardeners who can afford to pay
241 such rents and to contribute food crops and pigs to the landholder
178 or estate-holder, still have little difficulty, the ordinary landless

9

423
427 villager finds land borrowing for cash production an increasing
problem. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, which
178 rank about equal with bananas as a cash crop, and palms on an
241 allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who
423 planted them. A common practice for those without land is to obtain
245 permission to collect one or two cartloads of coconuts for copra-
427 making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this
no return is given. Another arrangement found, especially between
non-relatives and where the landholder is absent, is for the cash
received for the copra to be shared half-and-half.

423 The effect of landholding on cash-crop incomes is shown in
511 Table 7.3, which presents data from the household survey of four
Tongatapu villages mentioned in an earlier section. The inability of
592 the social system and its customary obligations to even out inequalities in landholding is shown in the fact that households without land had only half the income per capita or per adult male of households with a full-sized allotment. On the other hand households with two allotments did not have higher incomes per head than single-allotment households, for although total income was higher these households were larger and had more adult males.*

423 The main conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is
that the present land-tenure system, although it cannot provide land
182 for every household, is still able to cope with the subsistence needs
178 of the people, but is less able to cope with the rising demand for land
241 for cash cropping. The increasing difficulty of borrowing land for growing cash crops and the trend towards the payment of rentals for land both point to pressure within the system. This pressure, however, is as much the result of the growing commercialization of Tongan agriculture as of population increase alone.

THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

241 Tongan agriculture is based on a bush fallowing system† for the cultivation of tubers, the main food crops being yams, taro, cassava, sweet potato, bananas and plantains. After clearing and burning, a plot is cropped for two to about five years and then bush fallowed for

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[128] * The number of households in the survey with allotments smaller than 2·7 ha was too few for useful analysis.

† The term 'bush fallowing' is here used to describe a form of shifting cultivation in which the fallow period is short.

175 [470 cont.]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
000 he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives
no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single
musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles
belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general
character. He called his discovery the Archipel des Navigateurs,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not
materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased
one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with
rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden
handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small
earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and
suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards
we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives them-
175 selves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
[648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
[304] [565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

132 on February 16, 1970 to a nighttime low of 55.8° F. on July 17, 1970
(Tu'ipelehake 1970: 2).

Government and Political Organization

642 In June 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga emerged from status as a British
Protectorate to a fully independent nation. Today the national govern-
ment of Tonga takes the form of a constitutional monarchy. Tonga has
646 177 parliamentary institutions which appear to be based on a Western govern-
178 ment model, but examination of content rather than form reveals Tongan
principles at work.

> The Legislative Assembly is unicameral and consists of Privy Councillors, Cabinet Ministers, Representatives of the Nobles and Representatives of the People. Eleven councillors or ministers-all but two of whom are nobles, together with a further seven Noble's representatives, represent the traditional foci of leadership. They are theoretically counterbalanced by seven representatives of the people, many of whom in fact have been elected because of qualities important in traditional Tonga. The system bears superficial resemblance to its English model: it is western in its legal form, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic practice (Walsh 1967: 120-121).

632 Nuku'alofa, the major port, is the seat of government and the cen-
[504] ter of economic, social, and religious life of the Kingdom. Nuku'alofa
[368] is also the location of most secondary schools and has the largest and
[162] best hospital in the islands. With a population of 15,685, 21 percent
of the Tongan population resides in Nuku'alofa. Between 1956 and 1966
[161] the town showed an increase in population of 70 percent (Fiefia 1968: 11).
[179] Nuku'alofa is beginning to experience the problems of rapid population
growth and the attendant phenomena of unemployment, crime, and the in-
abilities to handle new demands on government services. Walsh (1969:

632 87-92) gives a good description of the town and its character.

631 Government reaches out through a system of districts, sub-districts
634 and villages. District and Town Officers act as agents of the govern-
622 ment, and although they are elected to their positions, they have lit-
622 tle or no decision-making powers. Governmental decisions and orders
621 are related to the people through the Town Officer in a village meeting
631 (fono). This system exists side by side with the traditional pattern
565 of rule by nobles. The power of nobles frequently exceeds its legal
178 limits but is accepted by the peasantry. A Tongan writing of what the
result of disobeying a noble would mean to a commoner describes it in
this manner,

> ...he and his family will be sacked from that village and have to start a new life under another noble or chief in another village or island. This happened very often in the past, even now but in a lower degree (Anonymous 1970).

The National Economy

439 The economy of Tonga is based on the cultivation and export of co-
[433] conut products and bananas. Government commodity boards are the only
[245] legal exporters of these products so that producers must sell to the
[655] government. Other products, primarily agricultural, are exported but
in 1969 totalled less than 10 percent of Tonga's total export (Tu'ipelehake 1969: 4-5). Tables 1 and 2 provide information on Tongan exports and imports. A

245 Recently both major crops have been threatened by factors seemingly beyond the control of government and growers. Many coconut palms have aged beyond their productive years, and an infestation of palms by the

A.[See pp. 15-17--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

245 rhinocerous beetle has damaged a large percentage of trees. The banana
crop has recently been infected with a fungus, black leaf streak disease,
to such a degree that many of the growers have stopped planting
commercial crops, and in the remaining plantations the yield is insufficient
to allow profitable harvest. Damage done by careless packing and
[439] improper storage during shipment is resulting in the dissatisfaction of
importers.

241 The 1966 Census of Tonga shows that 66.6 percent of all adult males
[162] were engaged in agriculture (Fiefia 1968: 28). Table 3 gives a full
[463] breakdown of occupation of Tongan males.[A] Agricultural techniques are a
[177] mixture of the traditional techniques-swidden agriculture, bush fallow
[178] periods, and hand tools-and modern methods including the use of fertilizers,
light machinery and single crop planting. The older techniques
241 are still the more widely used. A friable, well-drained, and easily-
134 worked soil is the predominant type. Maude (1965: 12-18) gives a fairly
detailed discussion of Tongan soils, their fertility, and their geologic
origins.

241 Tongan agriculture is subsistence oriented and cash-cropping re-
[656] mains a secondary consideration for most Tongans, with the exception
that law requires the planting and maintenance of a certain number of
464 coconut palms. Wage labor provides income for only a few (Table 3) and
465 wages are low, averaging somewhere between $T1.00 to $T1.75 a day; most
wage labor positions are in the area of services.[1] [B]

[A] [See p. 19--Analyst]

[B] [Footnote appears on p. 122--Analyst]

565 The basic characteristic of Tongan society is the presence of
ranked strata with each stratum havingan increasing amount of access
to social prestige and economic resources as one moves from the lower
to the higher strata. Membership in a stratum is ascribed by birth;
one is born as a commoner (tu'a), chief's assistant (matāpule), a chief
or noble ('eiki), or a king (tu'i). Individual movement between strata
is nearly impossible except that occasionally a commoner may be advanced
565 to the position of chief's assistant. If one marries outside his or
582 her social stratum, it does not alter his or her position. Such marriages are discouraged, particularly if one of noble birth should wish
to marry someone of lower rank.

178 Tongan society is still very much a kinship-oriented society and
181 attitudes and behavior evident at much life crisis events as births,
first birthdays, circumcisions, marriages and deaths reflect the traditional orientation of Tongans. Traditional values and beliefs are also
reflected by reliance upon native medical practices and the continuance
of belief in ghosts, spirits, and spirit possessions.

75 The traditional exists side by side with the modern. For instance,
177 modern medical care is usually readily available and readily accepted;
178
181 traditional and modern medicine are conceived of as being complimentary
rather than contradictory. The Tongan concept of social interaction
seems to have been the most resilient aspect of their culture and two
centuries of contact with the Western world have changed it little.

593 Under this system only constituents of the category tokoua 'sib-
561 554 lings of ego's sex' can either be of higher rank of lower rank than ego
[601] by virtue of seniority. In this case there is a terminological distinc-
tion with older siblings of the same sex referred to as ta'okete and younger siblings of the same sex referred to as tehina. Kaeppler (1971: 176) suggests that age ranking is not very important, but it seems quite important within the sibling group for establishing order of dominance and subordination, for determining leadership on formal occasions and, of course, for determining inheritance. Figure 2 illustrates kin ranking.[A]

'Api: A Household

592 The term 'api is best translated as 'household' but it can also denote a plot of land for residence or gardening, or it can be used to refer to persons living together in a household. The Tongan household is the primary unit of production and normally functions as the largest unit for resource management.

592 Each household is situated on a compound covering 1 road, 24 perch-
351 es of village land.[2] Each structure on a compound is referred to accord-
342 343 ing to its function; households usually consist of a sleeping house (fale mohe), a cookhouse (fale kai or peito), a roofless bathing stall (fale
342 kaukau), and a covered toilet (fale malolo). Sleeping houses vary in
[178] design from traditional thatch houses to brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In houses of the more traditional design partitions are absent except for tapa cloth (ngatu) curtains separating the sleeping

[A]. [See p. 45--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

613 which membership is optional and dependent upon residence and kin ties.
It functions in regard to special events such as weddings, house con-
[612] struction, and funerals. Matakali in contrast to kāinga is not con-
ceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is
viable through more than one generation.

622 Today, an 'ulumotu'a may be almost any male who has some claim to
178 authority through seniority, title, or control of some other power base
such as the position of town officer. In pre-contact Tonga this was
probably not the case; Latukefu (1967: 8) states that in the past only
622 titled persons could hold the position of 'ulumotu'a. Also the 'ulumo-
178 tu'a of pre-contact Tonga were quite powerful as they held the final
423 rights to land in a sequence of overlapping stewardship from the Tu'i
Tonga down to the 'ulumotu'a level. Under that system the land of the
matakali was distributed and cultivated under the supervision of the
'ulumotu'a. The modern system of land tenure has altered the chain of
stewardship so that an 'ulumotu'a no longer receives land to administer.
Of course, the 'ulumotu'a receives land as an individual, as do all
other men, but he would not receive stewardship over a large block of
land unless he holds a title with an estate.

613 The matakali of today, compared to its historic form, appears to
178 have changed both in structure and function. Gifford (1929), Latukefu
(1967), and Maude (1971), all described matakali as segments of larger
(592) lineal groupings, ha'a. Now the matakali only group households but are
not themselves segments of larger units. This change is probably due
(622)
(423) to the fact that 'ulumotu'a are no longer given land to administer and,

613 178 622 423 consequently, have no strong basis on which to maintain a relationship with titled land holders. For the same reason--change in the land tenure--the power of the 'ulumotu'a over the members of the matakali has diminished. Individuals no longer need rely on their 'ulumotu'a for access to land.

Ha'a: The Criteria for Membership

613 128 In this section I will not fully describe ha'a as Gifford (1929), and Kaeppler (1971), have presented sufficient material on that topic. Here I will only say that ha'a are named groups of titles with the present relationship between titles defined and ranked by the consanguineal relationships existing between the first titleholders. The ha'a are themselves ranked by their genealogical proximity to the first Tu'i Tonga.

613 565 (121) In doing research my interest in ha'a was in discovering whether or not commoners were affiliated with ha'a, and if so, how were they affiliated. What I found was that commoners in the village of Puke disclaim affiliation with ha'a except by virtue of residence, i.e., they claimed affiliation to the noble on whose estate they resided. An exception to this was an informant who claimed affiliation with another noble because most of his kinsmen lived on the estate of that noble, and he had only recently lived there himself. However, claiming affiliation and claiming membership are quite different. Commoners in Puke would not say they belonged to the ha'a of their noble.

All legitimate real sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE ECONOMICS AND MODES OF EXCHANGE

433 Village economy in present-day Tonga is a composite of traditional
181 forms of production, consumption, and exchange and Western modes of eco-
178 nomic integration. The change from the traditional to the modern has
proceeded slowly in an atmospere of conservatism and pride in maintain-
ing the traditional life style. Traditional attitudes and values tend
to force disbursement of acquired cash into areas which bring about so-
128 cial prestige rather than capital formation. In this chapter I would
like to describe village economy as it exists under this situation of
change. I also will describe and discuss the various types of exchange
utilized.

Cash Income

241 The village economy is subsistence oriented and relies upon labor-
[434] intensive, swidden agriculture as the production base. All household
heads rely to some extent on cultivation for meeting basic dietary re-
quirements and usually combine with gardening some other subsistence pur-
suit to provide variation in their diet and to provide cash for other
463 needs. Table 11 gives the dominant occupation for forty-two household
heads in Puke. A

434 Cash income is derived from several sources including the sale of copra, fresh coconuts, bananas and other produce, fish, and handicrafts.

A.[See p. 74--Analyst]

454 456 membership. Money-saving associations are found in all social and economic categories but seem to be most popular among wage laborers. In the village of Puke there were only two money-saving associations operating during 1971. One was formed for the purpose of house building and had only two members; the other was formed to save money for Christmas and New Year expenses. Both follow the model of a savings club rather than a rotating credit association. Virtually no individuals in the community save money on a long-term basis and none utilizes the banking facilities in Nuku'alofa.

The Subsistence Economy

463 As indicated in Table 11,[A] thirty of the household heads in Puke follow occupations which are subsistence oriented, i.e., gardening and [554] [178] 181 fishing. The traditional roles of the cultivator and the fisherman are still highly valued, and techniques have apparently changed little in the post-contact period. The ideology inherent in the production and consumption of certain foods, particularly yams and pigs, is parallel to, and integrated with, the ideology of class and kin.

Division of Labor

462 Work is divided primarily by the criterion of sex. Men do nearly all gardening and fishing; they also construct and repair houses and canoes, cook when an earth oven is used, and take care of livestock. The women wash, sew, cook for most daily meals, take care of children, weave mats and make tapa cloth (ngatu). They also collect reef foods,

[A] [See p. 74--Analyst]

462 edible wild fruits, pandanas for weaving, and mulberry wands (hiapo) which provide the bark for tapa cloth.

463 335 178 Specialization is common and always part-time. Two men in Puke are specialists in carpentry and neatly divide the available demand by one specializing in the knowledge of traditional carpentry and the other specializing in Western design and methods. Some projects call for the skills of both men, thus affording them a chance to contrast their approaches. While one scurries about taking measuremnts with a steel ruler and making references to smudged pencil marks on paper scraps, the other relies on eye-balling and his ability to reassure others with knowing grunts of wisdom. Oddly, the two techniques seem compatible, both being equally incomprehensible to non-carpenters.

463 Other specialties found in Puke were the construction of fishing paraphernalia, the practice of native medicine by both men and women, [226] undertaking, and canoe building. The village fishermen are also recognized as specialists, particularly a man who was the only one who could consistently take lobster by what was understood as a secret method. No individuals seemed to be recognized as specialists in gardening, but some of the older men were conceded to be the most knowledgeable in that area.

241 Gardening

Utilization of the garden plots follows a rotation plan wherein products most important in terms of their social prestige are planted and harvested immediately following a fallow period. The next crop

574 (527) Christmas, New Years, the Sabbath, and the several national holiday of Tonga such as the King's birthday. Feasting is also important at funerals, farewells, and welcomings. 574 571 Each feast may be viewed as small-scale redistribution where many individulas may be asked to contribute food and are also asked to attend. For the feast-giver there is the prestige and reward of obligating others to him. The social units participating in the preparation of a feast vary from the members of one household to an entire village. In Puke one of the basic reasons for village division is to facilitate the preparation of feasts for village guests, particularly churchmen. Each of the divisions takes its turn in rotation.

The Modes of Transaction

128 In this section I will describe the types of transactions used in the flow of goods and services and try to establish the relative importance of each. 432 178 Possibly the most outstanding feature of this aspect of the Tongan economy is the integration of modern market modes of transactions with the traditional forms of reciprocity. 432 178 443 558 626 Buying and selling is still a relatively new idea in Tonga and there is some social stigma attached to persons who engage in such activities. Persons selling food are frequently the topic of gossip as Tongans wonder why the seller is not giving the food. A common ploy used by vendors of foodstuff is to use children as the salesmen; this tactic helps prevent gossip and removes the vendor from a situation in which he might be asked to reduce his price for kinsmen and friends or even freely give the merchandise.

437 438 177 628 [537] two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.

Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 papa 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

651 554 431 First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala), 651 178 431 but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony 431 178 769 574 (Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593 431 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431 437 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical dis-
tribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431 437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1] A

592 602 125 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,

A.[For footnote, see p.123--Analyst]

159 carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

[828] Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give [154] any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money 436 with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in 434 Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a 154 fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[7]

154 Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over 771 schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In 795 the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village 771 of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing [178] a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the [154] fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

[154] The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

159 *Case 8.*—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

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[113] [7] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266-272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

755 *nima* and *naugia*, the cutting off of fingers
782 and the strangling of children, respectively,
were frequently employed when a noble lay
seriously ill.

757 A story related by Martin gives insight
into the attitude of one Tongan man toward disease. During an apparent conflict between a visiting Hawaiian and a Tongan, both of whom had offered to cure Mr. Mariner of "a disordered state of the stomach and bowels attended with headache and drowsiness," the Tongan laughed at the Hawaiian's infusion made of unnamed leaves and roots, which was said to be powerful enough to kill a man if taken in a large dose.

To the Tongan, the idea of curing a sick man by means that would make a healthy man sick was absurd. He offered instead to let some of Mr.Mariner's blood by scarifying his arms and legs with shells.

The Hawaiian, to prove his own faith in the plant decoction, imbibed a dose equal to that prescribed for the sick man. Mr. Mariner followed the example and was well the following morning.

757 Apparently, then, the use of plants in
278 medicines must have flourished in Tonga
sometime after Martin's report in 1817.

178 Today the use of plants in medicines is
vanishing. There are hospitals in each of
743 the main island groups and dispensaries
located in several towns. A new hospital
with modern surgical facilities is near com-
757 pletion on Tongatapu. There are many
people, however, who still carry the knowl-
278 edge and use plant cures, but mainly for
treating minor problems.

759 One revered practitioner (Uia) refers his
757 patients to the Government Hospital or the
Catholic Sisters if they are suffering from
what he thinks is a "European" illness. He discerns the origin of a disease by "touching the patient in the body and face" and refrains from treating illnesses that originate outside of Tonga.

757 One woman practitioner was called upon to prepare a remedy for a patient only after the woman—suffering from a serious fungal infection on her hands and arms—had visited the dispensary six times. Ointments given to this patient by the local dispensary proved ineffective. It was learned through Mumui Tatola that the six different

[p. 425-A]

7 *The First Two Codes of Law: 1839 and 1850*

671 As Tonga gradually emerged from a fragmented society into a
centralised political system it had to acquire legal machinery
642 adequate to its changing requirements. The Tongan leaders had
178 no need to consult the missionaries for advice on matters relating
to pedigree or the succession to the various titles, but when it
671 came to questions of law in a Christian society, they were quite
797 aware of their own ignorance of jurisprudence and felt tremendously dependent upon the missionaries for advice. The mission-
797 aries in Tonga were well aware of this need and they regarded
it as an integral part of their work. This has been well expressed by the Reverend John Williams (1839:119), in reference to the work of the L.M.S. missionaries in the South Seas:

> it would be criminal were he [the missionary], while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs . . . The Missionary goes among them [the heathens], . . . Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read portions of the word of God, which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that these ancient usages are so incompatible with Christian precepts, that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom then, in this dilemma, can they apply for advice, but to the persons from whom they have derived their knowledge? And what less can the Missionary do than give it freely and fully?

The important implication of this statement is that the very nature of missionary endeavours will inevitably bring about an involvement in the politics of the society in which the missionary works. This situation is brought about by the nature of man himself, as Dr Philip (1828, I:vii), an early mission director, vividly pointed out. 'Man', he wrote, 'in his individual and collective capacity, is so constituted, that no improvement can take place in any part

12 *Conclusion*

797 In spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics', its
missionaries participated significantly in Tonga's political de-
velopment during the period under study. They did not precipitate
178 political development as such, for the indigenous political system
had undergone a process of evolution—quite dramatic at times—
long before any Wesleyan Methodist missionary set foot in Tonga.
Similar processes of change had also occurred in Africa as well as
other Polynesian societies such as Hawaii and Tahiti where there
177 was a transition from tribal society to state. In the case of Tonga,
the growing contact with Fiji stimulated dramatic change in the
socio-economic and political arena. This process of change was
further accelerated by the arrival of the Europeans whose wealth,
797 technology and power the islanders came to covet so much. The
role played by the missionaries in this process was an integral
part of the general European impact on Tongan culture, and it
cannot therefore be viewed in isolation. However, the missionaries'
influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political
changes took subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural consequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the
circumstances in which they found themselves.

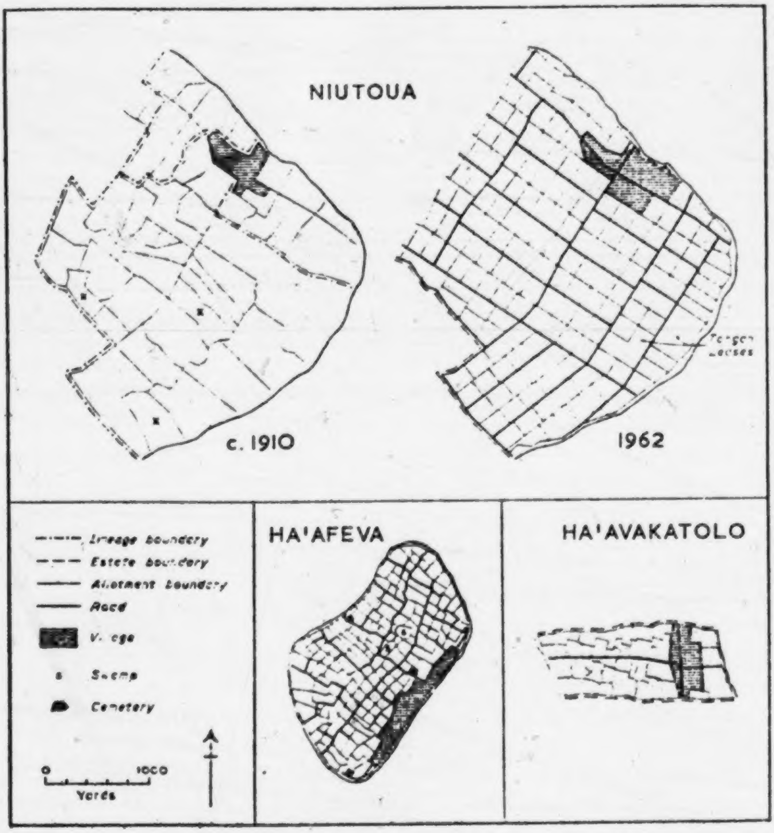
The missionaries' primary task was the conversion of the heathen. Although many of them were inadequately educated and equipped for this work, they were men of deep conviction and strong faith. They were convinced that Jehovah, in the end, would inevitably triumph, in spite of all the difficulties and occasional set-backs. Hence there could be no compromise. Working through the existing political leaders, and using every available means at their disposal, such as providing medicines, promoting education, and conducting religious revival meetings, they soon succeeded in making the majority of the population of Tonga at least nominally Christian.

As politics was so closely interwoven into the total fabric of

175 that the Tu'i Tonga was the nominal and the chiefs the actual
423 owners of the land, and the commoners simply tenants at will
(see Gifford 1929:174-5; Nayacakalou 1959:94-7 and Beaglehole
631 1941:19), but such terms as 'owner' and 'tenant' must be suspect
when applied to a Polynesian culture. Other evidence suggests
175 a pattern resembling that of neighbouring territories, where land
423 rights were held by social groups but were vested nominally in
the titled head of that group. Gifford, for instance, notes that
631 land once granted, whether to chiefs, *matapule* or commoners,
remained indefinitely in the family of the grantee (see also
613 Martin 1818: vol. II:91); Waldegrave and Radcliffe Brown re-
[425] cord that the Tu'i Tonga could not dispossess a chief (Walde-
grave 1833:185 and Williamson 1924: vol. III:266); and the
evidence of contemporary informants suggests that it would have
been unusual for a *fa'ahinga* to have lost its land except through
warfare (see also Williamson 1924: vol. III:231). It was also noted
[565] earlier that the *fa'ahinga* and the group headed by a chief were
basically descent groups and occupied fairly distinct areas, and
[425] several recent but knowledgeable informants maintain that in old
Tonga a chief allocated land to the various *'ulumotu'a* under
him, for their people to cultivate and live on, and that a man
obtained the use of land through his *fa'ahinga* and not as a
direct grant from his chief as is the case in the present system.
423 An example of this pattern can be seen in Figure 1. The first
map of Niutoua, in eastern Tongatapu, shows the pattern of
613 land division around 1910, and the landholders at that time can
be grouped into three *fa'ahinga*, each occupying a particular part
[565] of the land.[4] One *fa'ahinga* was headed by the former chief of
the area and the others by his two *matapule*.

Most of the evidence on landholding within the *fa'ahinga*
423 suggests that in times of peace people lived in extended family
613 groups scattered over the land (for example, Orlebar 1833:49),
and almost all contemporary informants state that allotments
596 were held by the heads of these families, with married sons
working the lands of their fathers and not holding allotments of
423 their own as at present. Individual tenure, in my opinion, is
therefore a recent development.

● 178 The above evidence suggests that the various social groups
423 had definite land rights, yet there is little doubt that these rights
could be overruled by the chiefs, and that a chief could allocate
565 land even against the wishes of its hereditary occupiers. He was
613 expected to take the interests of his people into consideration,
however, and to act in consultation with the *'ulumotu'a* under
[425]


NIUTOUA
c. 1910
1962
Tongan Leases
Lineage boundary
Estate boundary
Allotment boundary
Road
Village
Swamp
Cemetery
0 1000
Yards
HA'AFEVA
HA'AVAKATOLO

423
613
102
311

Fig. 1 Land division in Tonga: some examples

423
565
613
[631]
[643]

him (see also Williamson 1924: vol. II:478-80 and vol. III:119-21). Ultimate title to the land was considered to be vested in the Tu'i Tonga, and the position of a chief seems to have been more that of a ruler of an area and its people than that of a landlord.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT LAND TENURE SYSTEM

423

178 ●
[643]

While the exact nature of the traditional tenure system remains uncertain the development of the present system, particularly as it exists in law, can be traced more reliably. The first major change came in 1850 when George Tupou, finally established as the ruler of Tonga, claimed all the land by right of conquest,

423 and in 1852 he told a meeting of the leading chiefs that 'No
178 person has any title to lands in these Islands except by grant
643 from the Government' (Amos 1852). This claim was strengthened
and brought into conformity with traditional Tongan feeling in
1865 when the remaining powers of the Tui Tonga were conferred
423 on Tupou by the chiefs. The sale of land to foreigners
was forbidden in 1850, although leasing was permitted under
178 government control. By 1872, if not earlier, this prohibition was
432 extended to cover sales of land to Tongans.

[609] Other developments in land tenure resulted from a combination
423 of missionary influences (particularly from the Reverend
Shirley Baker, a Wesleyan missionary who later became Premier),
178 the King's own desire to elevate Tonga into the ranks of the
651 civilized nations, and the need for government revenue. The
1862 code, which freed the commoners from forced labour and
[177] compulsory contributions to their chiefs, also stated '. . . the
chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need,
which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their
tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for
any chief to dispossess them . . .' (West 1865:434). Baker later
claimed credit for this provision, explaining that his aim had
been to ensure that those required to pay taxes had the means
to earn the necessary money (Rutherford 1966:54-5). This may
be the origin of the later principle that each taxpayer was entitled
to an allotment, although under the traditional system the
holding of land was probably also linked with the payment of
tribute.

423 The Constitution of 1875 elaborated and refined these principles,
178 and also provided for the granting of estates to the chiefs.
Since 1852 all land had legally belonged to the King, and unoccupied
643 land had come under the control of the Crown rather
565 than the chief of the district in which it lay. Between 1875
and 1882, however, Tupou appointed a number of chiefs and
[427] *matapule* as virtual landlords of the districts, in most cases those
they had traditionally controlled, and gave them the power to
lease land to their people and, with the approval of Cabinet,
to foreigners, with the rents being paid to the holder of the
178 estate. The Constitution appears to have been the work of Baker.
Rutherford (1966:155) suggests that 'The creation of a nobility
565 was probably a move by Baker to enlist the support of the more
641 powerful chiefs . . .', and there is little doubt that political
stability was improved by giving both the King's main supporters
and the more important of his opponents secure and comfortable
positions in the new order.

positions in the new order. On the other hand, Tupou himself 000
stated at the opening of Parliament in 1875 that 643

> . . . the law of Tonga was up to this day that the whole of the 423
> soil of Tonga belonged to me; but this did not appear to me to 178
> be just and we have made an Ordinance as follows: The estates
> really belonging to the chiefs of our land shall be theirs, and they 565
> and their descendants shall hold them forever (Hunter 1963:2).

Some chiefs, however, were not granted estates, many areas 565
remaining under the control of the King, and although the present
holders of these chiefly titles are still respected for their 423
rank, their functions are now purely ceremonial. The *'ulumotu'a,* 178
the heads of the various lineages under a chief, also lost position, [554]
for while in the traditional land tenure system they appear to
have had some function in the distribution of land, under the [613]
Constitution control over land allocation on the hereditary
estates was vested solely in the estate-holders, with individuals
receiving land as a direct grant from their chief.

The 1875 legislation was in several respects incomplete, and 423
following a review by Baker, who became Minister of Lands in 178
1880, an Act of 1882 established the right of each male Tongan
of tax-paying age to be granted a town allotment and a gardening 641
or 'tax' allotment by the holder of the estate on which he lived.
Tax allotments, which were to be heritable in the male line, 423
were to be 100 fathoms square, or eight and a quarter acres,
except in western Tongatapu and in Ha'apai where they were 178
to be only fifty fathoms square because of the greater density of [428]
population, a provision deleted by a later Parliament. Within
each estate land was to be set aside for the titleholder and for [565]
his *matapule,* but the provision for special holdings for *matapule*
was also later removed.

By 1882, therefore, the basic principles of the present land
tenure system had been established, and major changes in the
law since then have been few. In 1891 the government was made 423
responsible for granting allotments and estate-holders could only
receive the rent. This change appears to have been made by 178
Basil Thomson, who was sent to Tonga by the British Government 565
after the deportation of Baker in 1890, to reduce the power
of the nobles over land (Thomson 1894:230). In 1915, however,
estate-holders gained the right to be consulted before allotments
were granted on their estates by the Minister of Lands.

There have also been changes in the regulations relating to 423
the size of allotments. In an attempt to stimulate agriculture by 178
179

423 settling people on their farms, and to encourage movement to
178 more sparsely populated districts, the Land Act of 1927 provided
[179] for the grant of twelve and three-eighths acres of agricultural
land to men willing to forgo their town allotment. Little came
of the provision, however, only twenty-three applications being
received up to 1934, when the scheme was enlarged to permit
grants of fifteen acres. Although several estates on Tongatapu
were laid out in fifteen-acre holdings, population growth has led
to all but one being resubdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre
allotments, and a recent amendment has reduced the area that
can be granted under this provision to ten acres.

Finally, there have been some changes in the estates. In 1882
423 hereditary estates *(tofi'a)* were granted to thirty-six titleholders,
565 thirty of them nobles and six of them *matapule* who, although
178 given estates, were not made nobles. Any land not granted to a
noble or *matapule ma'u tofi'a* became the estate of the King,
but in 1891 Tupou handed over most of this land to the government
(Thomson 1894:231). Two more nobles were created and
granted estates by Tupou II and one by Queen Salote. There
423 are thus at present several types of estate: Royal estates belonging
565 to the King, Royal Family estates held jointly by the Royal
Family, hereditary estates belonging to the nobles and a few
matapule, and government estates under the direct control of
[361] the Minister of Lands. About sixty per cent of the population
lives on hereditary estates.

Having outlined the development of the system as it exists in
128 law we may now attempt to assess its effectiveness in practice.
The following sections will discuss the acquisition and holding
of land, the distribution of agricultural land between households
and individuals, and the question of individual tenure and its
effect on agricultural production.

ACQUIRING AND HOLDING LAND

423 The most common and the easiest way to acquire land is through
428 inheritance, but land cannot be willed and the heir to an allotment
[425 is determined by precise rules laid down in the Land Act.
On the death of a landholder his widow is entitled to a life
[589 interest in her husband's town and tax allotments, but she loses
this right if she remarries or is found by the Land Court to have
[684 committed fornication or adultery. This latter provision is occasionally
used but in recent years actions based on it have
rarely, if ever, been successful (see Hunter 1963:109-10).

423 1). Since 1957, however, most of the remaining areas of Tonga
have been subdivided by the Cadastral Survey, and the allocation
of the new allotments will be described later.

423 The process of acquiring a vacant allotment has also been
entangled with the problem of the power and influence of estate-holders.
425 On hereditary estates the titleholder has a statutory
565 right to be consulted before an allotment is registered by the
Minister, and in practice the applicant must have a signed approval
from the estate-holder before applying to the Minister.
Although by law the objections of an estate-holder can be overruled
by the Minister, few villagers would dare complain against
a noble and, even if they did, the Minister apparently does not
force registration if the estate-holder still does not approve. Land
therefore cannot be acquired simply by applying to the Lands
[431] Department. In practice on hereditary estates an applicant approaches
the estate-holder or his representative for permission to
use and register a tax allotment, having prepared the way with
423 gifts of food. If there is land to spare the applicant will probably
be allowed to garden it, but will be told to apply for registration
425 in a year or so. One reason for the delay in approving registration
is to ensure that the applicant works the land and meets
423 his responsibilities to the village. All too often, however, estate-holders
have delayed registration for reasons of power and personal
425 advantage. Since the Emancipation of 1862 the chiefs have
565 lost much of their power but those granted estates have retained
a relatively strong position through their control over the allocation
661 of land. Delaying registration, and threatening to expel
[178] those using unregistered allotments, ensures that those hoping
to get land, or with sons or other close relatives hoping to get
land, will conform to the wishes of the noble and provide food
and other gifts on the appropriate occasions. In some cases even
money has been demanded, and paid, before registration was
approved.

Many estate-holders have therefore been reluctant to see their
estates subdivided and the land fully allocated and registered,
for registration with its security of tenure reduces their effective
423 power over the people. This is probably the major reason why
the survey and allocation of allotments has taken so long, and
it is significant that before 1957 almost the only areas in eastern
Tongatapu that had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre
[425] allotments were the government estates.[5] A further reason
is that in the less densely settled areas many of the existing land-
[565] holders have in the past also been opposed to subdivision, for

if a landholder did not have enough sons or other male relatives 423
to take up all the allotments into which his customary holding 425
was divided some of the land would pass out of his family's 565
control.

The last few years, however, have seen a near revolution in 423
land allocation, the stimulus coming from the Royal Family and
the government. In 1957 a New Zealand firm contracted to com- 178
plete the subdivision of the Kingdom into tax allotments and 659
by 1962, when the Cadastral Survey finished, only Niuatoputapu,
Niuafo'ou and some of the smaller volcanic islands remained
unsurveyed. The allocation of the new allotments was unneces- 423
sarily delayed, perhaps for the reasons suggested above, but by 178
the beginning of 1966 most of the allotments in Tongatapu, and
about half of those in Vava'u, had been granted, and it was
hoped to allocate the rest within a year or two.

The allocation of the new allotments has been done village 423
by village, and those with pre-existing customary holdings have 425
usually been permitted to allocate some or all of the new allot-
ments into which their land was subdivided, although subject 565
to the approval of the estate-holder (if on an hereditary estate)
and of the Minister. Most of the new allotments have therefore
gone to the sons and other male relatives of the old landholders,
but some have been left for the estate-holder or Minister, and
sometimes the old landholder, to allocate to non-relatives. In a 423
rough sample of allotments on two hereditary estates on Tonga-
tapu seventy-seven per cent had been granted to relatives of the 425
old holders. Where land was granted to non-relatives some
estate-holders largely chose people who belonged to the village 423
by descent, but others were more willing to allocate land to 425
people who settled in the village in the hope of getting an allot- 621
ment, although this sometimes caused resentment among local
people left without land. In the sample mentioned above twenty-
nine per cent of the allotments in one village had been granted
to newcomers compared with only ten per cent in the other, and
in the latter village probably a higher proportion of the local
people given allotments were boys under sixteen years.

For his tax allotment a Tongan pays an annual rent of eighty 423
cents either to the government or to the estate-holder. On many 427
hereditary estates, however, the estate-holder does not collect
this rent in money, but instead calls for contributions of food [651]
and other materials needed for particular occasions, and these
contributions usually amount to much more than eighty cents
in value in a year.

427

423 Eviction from a registered allotment is rare, and provided a
425 landholder complies with the requirements of the law he has
complete security of tenure, for all cases for eviction must be
423 heard by the Land Court. Eviction may be for failure to pay
rent, for not maintaining the allotment in the average state of
425 cultivation for tax allotments in the district, for abandoning the
686 allotment or for not planting or tending the 200 coconut palms
required by law. In recent years cases for eviction have only been
427 brought on the grounds of failure to pay rent, and as the law
gives landholders the opportunity to pay within three months
of the judgment very few people have actually lost their land.
423 Security of tenure is therefore very much greater under the present
system than it was in the past. Moreover, the Land Court
425 has on several occasions held that registration is not the only
[178] test of ownership (Hunter 1963:104-6 and 121-5), and where a
person occupies unregistered land which has been held by his
family by customary right for some time his position is fairly
strong. It is only those who have been given permission to use
land to which they have no customary right, with the possibility
of registration later, whose tenure is particularly insecure and
who therefore most need to keep the favour of the estate-holder.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

423 The 1966 census, the first in which a question on land ownership
162 was included, revealed that only forty-two per cent of taxpayers
actually had an allotment, with the proportion varying from
thirty-nine per cent in Tongatapu to forty-six per cent in
423 Vava'u and forty-eight per cent in Ha'apai.[6] A more detailed
indication of the distribution of land in particular villages is
592 given in Table 1, which presents the results of village studies
carried out in recent years and shows the percentage of households
and (for six of the villages) of taxpayers, according to the
[178] acreage of land held. It should be noted that these households
differ in composition from those of the past; today an extended
[596] family grouping is only occasionally found, particularly in
Tongatapu, and most households consist of a nuclear family or
[594] a nuclear family and a few unmarried relatives. The figures in
Table 1, together with census data, show that the distribution
of land between both households and taxpayers is distinctly uneven,
and differs markedly from the pattern which should result
423 from the provisions of the Land Act. In only one village did
592 over half the taxpayers have their legal entitlement of eight and

In areas of more moderate population density (about 300-400 423
persons per square mile) the pattern of land distribution on 182
estates which have been fully subdivided is shown in the figures [161]
for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and Ha'ateiho.A Here most households
have either eight acres or no land at all, although in Ha'akame
several taxpayers hold twelve-acre allotments and a block of
thirty-three acres is held as a lease by the only man of rank in
the village. Where the population density falls to about 200 [161]
persons per square mile or less the pattern on subdivided estates
is represented by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu
(see Table 1 and Figure 1),A where only three per cent of the
households in 1962 were without land. Yet even there about
eighteen per cent of the taxpayers had no land, because one-third
of the registered allotments on the estate were held by people
who lived in other settlements, mostly either in Nuku'alofa or
in other villages in eastern Tongatapu. Where subdivision and
allocation of allotments is not complete the proportion of taxpayers
and households without land is very much higher, as is
shown in the figures for Vaini in central Tongatapu, where in
1962 about one-half of the estate was still in customary holdings.
The recent allocation of allotments has significantly altered the
pattern of land distribution on this estate, but has had little or
no effect on the other villages discussed above.

The significance of this unequal distribution of land between 423
individuals and households needs to be carefully assessed, for 425
the borrowing of land from relatives, friends or estate-holders is
common. It is fairly easy to obtain the use of land for growing [241]
short-term and largely subsistence food crops, even in densely
settled areas, although many men claim that it has become more
difficult in recent years. Where land is borrowed from a relative [427]
often no direct return is made, but when borrowing from others [602]
it is customary to give part of the crop, such as a basket of yams,
to the landholder.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult, 423
and although it would be hard to find a family short of food 425
simply because it could not borrow enough land for gardening, 241
households without land tend to have significantly lower cash
incomes than households with land. Borrowing for cash cropping [434]
particularly has become more difficult over the last two years, [178]
for with the improved market for bananas landholders have
expanded their own plantings and are less willing to lend their
land to others, especially for more than one or two years. In 423
Tongatapu today it is not unusual to find people having to pay 427
for the use of land for cash cropping, although renting without 241

A[See Category 423, pp. 109, 117--Analyst.]

land is much higher among in-migrants than among those who 423
belong there by birth (Maude 1965:118-19, Nayacakalou 1959:111), 166
and the difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an allotment has 425
probably deterred migration from the densely settled areas. At the same time there has not been much opportunity for those who have allotments in these areas, but who have moved elsewhere, to exchange their old holdings for new ones (an exchange which is provided for in the Land Act) and so make land available for others, as should have happened in the case of Ha'afeva discussed earlier.

The main direction of migration within Tonga in recent years, 166
moreover, has been towards Nuku'alofa and other parts of Tongatapu 369
where the opportunities for earning money and the better
educational facilities have been more important attractions than 423
the possibility of obtaining land. People have been much less interested in moving to 'Eua and to western Vava'u, where land has been the only attraction (Maude 1965:81-6, Walsh 1964b: 188). Thus internal migration has only partly led to a better distribution of land; it has had only a small effect on the tenure problems of the densely settled areas, and among the rapidly-growing population of Nuku'alofa a large proportion of households are landless. In a sample survey of households in the town Walsh (1964b:63) found that only forty-nine per cent had a tax allotment on Tongatapu, sometimes miles from the town, while another six per cent had land elsewhere in Tonga. In the 1966 census only thirty-three per cent of taxpayers in Nuku'alofa stated that they had a tax allotment.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Tongan land tenure system also needs to be assessed in 121
terms of the way in which land is used. Has this system, with its individual title to land and security of tenure, proved a satisfactory basis for cash cropping, and has it fostered the development of independent small holders free of some of the problems found with more traditional systems of land tenure in other parts of the South Pacific?

Cash cropping in Tonga has been largely confined to coconuts 423
and bananas, but there is no indication that land tenure has 182
been a factor in the non-acceptance of other crops. The early 178
stages in the development of the present tenure system were
apparently marked by an increase in cash cropping, for Ruther- 245
ford (1966:58-9) quotes the opinion of Maudslay that the 1862 [241]

423 code, by increasing the commoners' security of tenure, greatly
182 stimulated the planting of coconuts. From 1887 onwards the
• 178 trend in copra production can be followed from the export
statistics. Between 1887 and 1912 the mean annual *per capita*
245 export of copra increased from 0.27 tons (1887-90) to 0.54 tons
[439 (1908-12), a level which was maintained, apart from the period
affected by the hurricanes of 1912 and 1913 and by the First
[433 World War, until 1930. The writer has found no evidence, however, to show whether this increase was a result of the 1882 revision of the land law.[7]

423 In recent years, on the other hand, the incomplete subdivision
245 and allocation of allotments has restricted further planting of
coconuts, and is one reason for the present low level of *per
[182] capita* copra production. Many parts of central and eastern
Tongatapu, and of 'Eua and Vava'u, are only sparsely planted
[433] in palms, and in central and eastern Tongatapu people with large customary holdings have tended to plant only part of their land, while men who have moved to these districts and been given a plot to garden have not wished to plant coconuts until their tenure is secure. On several Tongatapu estates visited during field-work, where the land had been subdivided before the recent survey, the systematic planting of coconuts had only begun after the subdivision and allocation of allotments. In
423 eastern Tongatapu in 1956 the mean *per capita* production of
245 copra was 0.48 tons on estates in which most or all of the land
433 had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments,
and 0.39 tons on estates in which most of the land remained in larger customary holdings, although these means are unfortunately based on too few villages for the difference to be statistically significant. The recent allocation of allotments in Tongatapu and elsewhere (together with the Coconut Replanting Scheme which began in 1965) should result in a marked increase in the area planted in palms, and in the opinion of some Tongans the allocation has already facilitated the recent expansion in banana planting by providing more growers with a secure tenure. There are therefore grounds for concluding that when properly applied the land tenure system does provide a good basis for agricultural development.

423 One limitation of the Tongan system, however, is its lack of
flexibility. For a variety of reasons many men find eight and a
425 quarter acres insufficient, but because of the shortage of land it
182 is now difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the ten or twelve
acre allotments provided for in the law, and there is no un-

423

allocated land left for leasing. Consequently land borrowing by 425
those who already have allotments of their own is common, and
land use by no means coincides with the tenure of land. Yet 182
borrowing is not always a satisfactory solution, for the borrower
can seldom obtain land except for a short period and for short-term
crops. While the more enterprising therefore tend to be [311]
hampered by the land tenure system, the lazy are protected, for
at present the government makes no attempt to enforce the provisions
in the Land Act requiring landholders to cultivate their
allotments and plant coconuts.

Land borrowing may also restrict the lender's control over the 425
use of his holding for, despite individual tenure, requests from 571
close relatives and friends for the temporary use of land are 602
difficult to refuse, and such requests are not necessarily made [423]
only to those who have land to spare. Social obligations of this
nature also restrict the independence of the farmer in other ways
familiar to the student of the South Pacific. For instance, relatives [241]
and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets
of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase production
find their efforts hampered. Such obligations continue [178]
to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the
prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil [554]
their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual [182]
and his family. Marriages and funerals also involve obligations
of kinship and friendship. A study of the literature on Western 571
Samoa and Fiji, and the comments of Tongans who have lived
in Samoa and Samoans who have lived in Tonga, suggest that 602
the Tongan farmer may be able to achieve a slightly greater 423
degree of independence, without having to contract out of his 182
society, than is the case in the neighbouring territories, and for 241
this the system of landholding is probably largely responsible.
At the same time, however, individual tenure in Tonga has not [171]
produced fully independent farmers, for social obligations still
restrict the individual's control over his land, his time and his
produce.

SOME BENEFITS OF THE SYSTEM

Although various factors have thus restricted the effectiveness of 423
the Tongan land tenure system both as a method of land alloca-tion
and as a basis for land use, it has many good points. It has 182
provided many men with secure, lifetime, individual leaseholds
which can be passed on to their descendants; it has enabled
Tonga to avoid the problems of fragmentation, subdivision and

423 multiple ownership found elsewhere; and it has not tied areas
182 of land to particular social groups. It has prevented land from
[427] passing into foreign ownership and has limited the area taken
up in foreign-held leases, and at the same time has prevented
[565] the dispossession of the commoners and the over-concentration
of land rights in the hands of the chiefs.[8] Tonga now also has
423 a nearly complete survey of all agricultural holdings, as well as
a reasonably efficient records system for land grants, transfers
and rent payments.

[178] Furthermore, many of the weaknesses discussed in previous
sections have resulted not so much from the Land Act itself but
from its inadequate application, and in the past few years a great
deal has at last been done to ensure a better distribution of land.
423 A final strong argument in favour of the system is the remark-
ably small number of disputes. During the five-year period 1952-6
691 a total of 178 cases came before the Land Court, but 141 of
these were over the non-payment of rent; there were only twenty-three cases involving a disputed claim to a tax or town allotment, the great majority of which were won by the defendant, and none involving a dispute over an allotment boundary.

THE FUTURE

000 Some changes in the basic principles of the land tenure system,
however, will be essential if it is to meet the problems raised
[423] by a rapidly-growing population. The total number of tax allot-
ments so far marked out is about 12,140 if every two allotments
[162] of less than four acres are counted as one (Maude 1965:166, 181),
yet there are already about 20,000 males aged sixteen and over legally entitled to land, and some of the present allotments are held by widows or (as with some holdings recently allocated) by boys under sixteen. By 1980 the number of taxpayers entitled to land is likely to be about 33,000, nearly treble the number of existing allotments.[9]

In assessing the changes that might be made, two points need to be kept in mind. One is the need to avoid potentially serious social, economic and perhaps political problems that would result
from a large proportion of the male population being without
423 land and without any hope of acquiring land. Already at least
eighty-four per cent of taxpayers in the age group 20-24 are
162 without a tax allotment, while in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34
the corresponding proportions are seventy-five per cent and sixty-
000 three per cent respectively. The opportunities for developing

The opportunities for developing
non-agricultural employment for such people are strictly limited, 465
and in any case wage rates at present assume that men are partly 464
supporting themselves through agriculture. Now that the alloca- 423
tion of allotments is nearing completion discontent is already 178
growing among those left without holdings. The second point
is the need to ensure the efficient use of Tonga's limited resources 578
of land, for by 1980 the overall population density will be about 000
640 persons per square mile of cultivable land, and the present
low level of production and productivity in agriculture will have
to be greatly increased if standards of living are to be maintained
and improved.

One answer to the land problems of both the present and the
future is to make as many allotments available as possible, and
this includes continued government action to ensure that land
is in fact allocated, particularly on hereditary estates, and that
no one holds more than his legal entitlement. However, the
maximum subdivision of all suitable land into eight-and-a-
quarter-acre lots, leaving a small area reserved for the secondary
schools and the Royal Family, would only increase the number
of allotments to about 14,500. And about half of the additional [361]
holdings would be on the islands of Late (at present uninhabited),
Niuatoputapu, Tafahi, and Niuafo'ou, islands which are unlikely
to attract many settlers because of their isolation and lack of
facilities. Division of the existing eight-acre allotments in half would increase the number of holdings to about 28,900, while raising the age of entitlement to land to twenty would reduce the number of men with a legal claim to an allotment, and few youths under twenty have any real need for their own land. This might be the fairest solution to the problem, since it would preserve the principle that each man is entitled to an allotment, but it would not necessarily lead to the most productive use of the land, for some allotments would be held by men who lacked either the inclination or the need to use their land effectively, while the efforts of the more enterprising commercial farmers would be further restricted.

The efficiency with which land is distributed and used might well be increased by varying the size of some allotments. The requirements of men permanently employed in urban occupations could be met by dividing holdings near the towns into one-acre garden lots and with the rapidly increasing population of Nuku'alofa this seems the only way in which land can be provided for urban dwellers. The alternative is substantially to increase wages, which does not seem economically possible, and

NOTES

[1] The writer acknowledges with gratitude the help received from many 000
people in Tonga and elsewhere while collecting the material for this
chapter. Particular acknowledgement is made to the staff of the Lands
and Survey Department, the Honourable Mahe Tupouniua, Mr 'Iteni Helu,
Dr Sione Latukefu, Mr Tangata Lakepa and Professor R. G. Crocombe,
who do not, of course, share any responsibility for the opinions expressed
here.

[2] The correct term for this group in pre-contact Tonga is uncertain and 175
today Tongans use the word *famili*, from English, or *matakali*, which is 613
of Fijian origin. The term *fa'ahinga* is used by Latukefu (1967).

[3] The *matapule* are the chief's attendants and spokesmen; *foha* and *tehina* [565]
are minor titles under a chief.

[4] The crosses mark allotments held by persons not belonging to the same 423
fa'ahinga as the rest of the landholders in that area. [613]

[5] On a government estate the process of obtaining land has generally been
less difficult, but in recent years most of these estates, especially in Tonga- [425]
tapu, have had few vacant allotments.

[6] These figures are from the preliminary results of the 1966 census, by 113
courtesy of the Census Commissioner, Mr N. Fiefia.

[7] It may be noted here that there are several references to the planting of 423
coconuts having stopped in the first decade of this century (because mal- 182
administration of land matters by the King and the estate-holders made 178
people feel insecure in their tenure), which suggests that previously plant-
ing had been common. On the other hand, the registration of allotments 245
does not appear to have begun until 1898, and registration on a significant
scale did not begin until about 1915.

[8] But note that by law an estate-holder may reserve part of his estate for 423
himself and the successors to his title and, since the regulation provided 182
for in the Land Act to determine the area of this *'api fakatofi'a* has never 427
been made, some retain personal holdings of up to 200 or 300 acres,
although part of this land is being used by villagers and others. 565

[9] From the preliminary results of the 1966 census. 000

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121 disguised representation of unconscious thoughts and wishes. A ceremony is a condensed and partially disguised representation of certain aspects of social life. A dream and a ceremony both serve a double and contradictory function: they release and communicate dangerous thoughts and emotions; but at the same time they disguise and transform them so that the element of danger is contained and to some extent dealt with. An effective ceremony protects society from destructive forms of conflict; an effective dream protects the sleeper from anxiety.

Of course there are important differences between a dream and a ceremony. A dream is the product of an individual; a ceremony is the product of a group. Dreams reflect unconscious thoughts. Some of the ideas and emotions expressed in ceremonies are unconscious, but many others are not so much unconscious as unformulated. Just as one can speak a language correctly without being able to formulate its grammatical rules, so one can play one's part in social life and in a ceremony without understanding how all the parts and principles fit together. Further, many of the symbolic statements made in a ceremony concern social norms and values of which the participants are consciously aware.

276 574 178 The basic events of the kava ceremony are very simple. A group of people pound up the root of a kava plant, mix it with water, and drink it. But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all, with one important exception. The kava root used to be chewed and then mixed with water, whereas nowadays it is pounded with stones.

276 [137] The botanical name of the kava plant is *Piper methysticum*. It contains several chemical constituents and there is considerable controversy about their physiological effects. The general conclusions are that it has a slight tranquillizing and anaesthetic action, though the effects are very mild. Tongans, however,

associations between kava, tranquillity, leprosy, poison, nausea, 276
and cannibalism. It may seem odd that tranquillity should appear alongside ideas of poison, nausea, and cannibalism, but I hope the reasons for this strange juxtaposition will become clearer as the exposition proceeds.

INTERPRETATION

The first point is that *the kava ceremony is one of a series of ceremonies* 276
that clarify social principles and social roles. In the kava ceremony 574
the principle of stratification by titles is marked off as clearly as 565
possible from all other forms of social differentiation. This as- 554
pect of the ceremony is conscious and explicit. Many Tongans told me, 'Everything in the kava ceremony goes by titles.'

In the traditional political system, chiefly titles carried 565
formal political authority. A chiefly titleholder had the right 554
and obligation to rule and to represent all the inhabitants of a given territory. The kava ceremony displayed the political relationships of titles to one another.

This emphasis on titles only makes sense when one knows [178]
that in the traditional system, and to a considerable extent today as well, there were two other systems of social differentiation that were very important in everyday life though they played a very minor role in the kava ceremony; these two other systems of social differentiation were political power and personal rank.[6]

Any man who could gather about him a large and industrious group of relatives and friends could become a political leader in the traditional system. This dimension of political power cut across the system of titles. Some powerful leaders did not hold titles. Some chiefly titleholders were strong leaders of large and powerful local groups; others were politically unimportant.

The third system, that of personal rank, is the same today as [178]
it was in the traditional system. The rewards of high rank are gifts of food and elaborate gestures of deference from people

did not hold titles or political power. Some titleholders were of 565
high rank, some of low rank. Some powerful leaders were of 554
high rank, others of low rank.

The discrepancy between rank and political power was incor- 643
porated into the traditional political hierarchy. The sacred 565
king, the Tu'i Tonga, held the most senior title and was of very 554
high personal rank; only his sisters and their children were of higher personal rank. But his political power was very limited. Secular authority was wielded by a second king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which is the title of the present ruling line. The Tu'i Kanokupolu title was genealogically junior to that of the Tu'i Tonga, and the individual incumbents of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title were of much lower personal rank than the sacred king, but their political power was much greater. They were supposed to rule the kingdom on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga. The recurrent practice of a particular type of marriage between the two royal houses ensured that the sacred king continued to be of higher personal rank than the secular king; personal kinship ties thus reinforced the relationship between the titles.

In the traditional system the object of the social and political 557
game was to use one's standing in one system to increase one's 565
standing in the others, marriage being one of the main devices [581]
for doing so. The process took several generations. Increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal, but it was unwise in the long run to concentrate on rank alone. The disappearance of the former sacred kingship is a case in point. The kava ceremony provided a snapshot of the process; it showed where the manœuvring for position had got to at any particular moment, at least as far as the system of formal titles was concerned.

In the modern social and political system the principle of 565
independent but overlapping dimensions of stratification has 554
been retained, though the content has changed. The system of 178
personal rank continues unaltered. Education, however, has 555
supplanted the old system of power and unofficial political leadership. Education is the new pathway to political authority and to higher rank for one's descendants.

565 The system of chiefly titles and political authority has also
554 changed. In 1875 at the time of the Constitution most of the
178 authority of the chiefly titleholders was transferred to the central
642 government. In compensation for their loss, about forty of the
more important and powerful chiefs were given the new European
title of 'noble' (*nopele* in Tongan) and were given a special
[646] position in the central government. They could elect seven of
their peers to the legislative assembly. At the present time being
a noble gives one a considerable initial advantage in acquiring
political authority, though one must also be educated.

The system of noble titles thus provides a link between the
276 old and the new systems of formal government. The kava
574 ceremony has changed accordingly. It used to be a ceremonial
565 statement of political authority; now it is a statement of con-
554 tinuity between the new political system and the old. As before,
178 principles of personal rank and political power are almost
entirely excluded from the ceremony. People are seated and
served according to their titles, not according to their personal
rank, education, or position in government.

574 In the beginning I found the constant contradictions of rank,
554 titles, and government authority difficult to grasp. Tongans
565 assured me it was perfectly simple if one had grown up with it.
But one thing that helps to keep it simple is ceremonies.
Ceremonies mark off one social principle from the others and
keep each principle clear in everyone's mind. At government
feasts people are seated primarily according to their position in
government; a commoner of low rank who is a Cabinet minister
will be seated at the Queen's table. At funerals, duties depend
mainly on the principles of kinship and personal rank. In the
kava ceremony titles are what matter, and power and personal
rank play a very minor role. Thus, if the same set of people
were involved in the three types of ceremony, they would
assume different positions and would have very different rela-
[276] tionships with one another in each ceremony. Hence the kava
ceremony cannot be understood on its own; it is part of a
complex of ceremonies.[7]

SUCCESSION DISPUTES AND THE POSITION OF THE NOBILITY IN MODERN TONGA

By George E. Marcus[1]

565 THE Tongan nobility was created in 1875 by King George Tupou I, founder
641 of the present royal dynasty, as part of major reforms designed to complete
643 and stabilize the westernization of traditional Tongan society. The political
● 178 centralization of Tonga, which culminated in Tupou I's proclamation of a
185 constitutional monarchy in 1875, entailed the emancipation of the population
from the control of regional, independent traditional leaders or chiefs and the
concomitant undermining of the bases of both chiefly prestige and authority.
565 Exempted from this levelling of the old chiefly establishment in the new order
641 were 20, and eventually 33, chiefly patri-descent lines, constituted as a landed
178 nobility and defined by legal possession of hereditary titles and estates.[2]

565 The nobles are heirs of a traditional chiefly heritage. This is most dramatically marked in their participation in society-wide rituals historically legitimizing the kingship, such as royal coronations, funerals, tribute presentations, and
565 kava-drinking ceremonies. As such, they are anachronistic in modern Tongan
178 society, where a commoner elite has developed and broad-based, but limited
social mobility is possible in the context of western-derived institutions of

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101 [1] Department of Anthropology, Rice University, Houston, Texas. The research for this paper was conducted in Tonga during three separate visits: several months in 1972, a year during 1973-1974, and a brief stay in November, 1975. My investigations were
122 funded by a comparative research project at Harvard on law and conflict management (NIMH grant No. RO 1-MH-19531); by an NIH training fellowship, administered through the Department of Anthropology at Harvard; and by NSF grant No. BNS76-03918. I thank the government of Tonga under His Majesty King Taufa'āhau Tupou IV for permission to undertake my research.

[2] In retrospect, Tupou's appointment of a privileged nobility in the midst of reforms
565 that were designed to level traditional chiefly status and power might be considered a
641 blunder (Latukefu, 1974, pp. 211-13). However, among Tupou's original noble appointments
were the chiefs with the most numerous followings, including both Tupou's strongest
643 supporters and opponents during his rise to hegemony. It was undoubtedly both
politically expedient and necessary to give a special place and recognition to the
178 traditional leaders on whose efforts or at least acquiescence the successful implementation
of the reforms would depend. In 1875, Tupou I appointed 20 nobles at the creation of
[661] the nobility. In 1880, he appointed 10 additional titles to the nobility. He also appointed six of the ceremonial attendants or *matāpules* to hereditary titles and estates. These *matāpule* title-holders are not strictly considered nobles and do not share, for example, noble parliamentary privileges (see footnote #6). Tupou II appointed two additional noble titles. Queen Sālote appointed one further noble title in 1924. There are thus 39 sets of associated hereditary titles and estates, 33 noble and 6 *matāpule*. The Constitution of Tonga provides for the King's prerogative to appoint titles of honour and honourable distinctions, but as can be seen, limited use has been made of this prerogative by the successors of Tupou I.

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state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally 565
supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, 178
influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly 565
criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society
that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The 178
tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 829
1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations 185
with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and 565
conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and
activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally.
As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European [171]
societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary
nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a
degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating
changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined 565
by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the 428
social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble
title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose 121
of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and
to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility
in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and 114
activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a 131
total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International
Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest
of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are 361
clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including
the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital
of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small
islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing 161
population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land
shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, 178
have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from 166
the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration 167
abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan
economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by 433
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433
241 village- and town-dwelling small-holding farmers of a variety of root crops for
subsistence and of copra and bananas for cash.[3]

643 The pre-contact Tongan political and social system was a highly stratified
565 kingship, which was an extreme case of the hierarchical social organization for
175 which Polynesia has been culturally typed (see Gifford, 1929; Goldman, 1970;
171 Sahlins, 1958). The pre-contact sacred kingship of the Tu'i Tonga had been
177 increasingly challenged by the political competition among ruling chiefs for
797 over two centuries, when Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in 1826, began a
process of thorough westernization of indigenous institutions. Enthusiastically
643 accepting Christianity and the advantages of western ideas of law, government,
178 and education, the powerful chiefly leader, Tāufa'āhau,[4] as the Christian king
George Tupou I, united the islands under a constitutional monarchy and a
178 strong Wesleyan church organization. Although later a British protectorate
177 (1900-1970), Tonga was the only polity in Polynesia to maintain indigenous
642 sovereignty and remains the only surviving Polynesian kingship.[5]

[648] The institutional and legal framework for the new order has remained
[170] virtually intact during the reigns of the four monarchs of the Tupou dynasty
(Tupou I, 1875-1893; Tupou II, 1893-1918; Queen Sālote, 1918-1965; and
Tupou IV, 1965-). The major pre-contact social and political institutions
were replaced by a monarchical state (with the kingship defined as part of the
conventional executive, legislative, and judicial branches of western government)
177 and Christian church organizations. On the other hand, a number of indigenous
customs and values were assimilated to the innovations and persisted, particularly
178 in the important everyday-life contexts of kin relations and of the production
and exchange of traditional foodstuffs and goods such as barkcloth and mats.
This early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated
Tongan culture with a version of European culture, remained isolated during
the early twentieth century as a neo-traditional or compromise culture and is
only now being challenged by increasing political and economic contacts with
other regional and world nations.

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[3] The following are major sources on recent Tongan demography and economics: Bollard (1974), deBres (1974), Maude (1965, 1971), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964). The following are sources on modern Tongan society and culture: Aoyagi (1966); Beaglehole (1941), Kaeppler (1971), Korn (1974) Marcus (1975a, 1975b), Morton (1972), and Rogers (1968, 1975).

[175] [4] There were actually three kingships in Tonga in the century before the Constitution. In the 15th century, the 24th incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status, thus initiating a collateral line of kings called the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one of his sons, thus creating a second line of major societal chiefs or kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, collateral to the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship. Tāufa'āhau was the 19th Tu'i Kanokupolu.

[5] Major secondary sources on Tonga's transformation and recent history are Lātūkefu (1974); Rutherford (1971), and Wood (1932, 1975).

The foundation of the reforms which transformed the old order lay in the 423
land tenure system initiated by Tupou I, and which has remained largely [178]
unchanged since 1891. The major feature of this system is the granting and
inheritance of land solely on an individual basis. Every Tongan male, aged 16 [884]
and over (at 16, Tongan males legally become taxpayers), is entitled to not
more than 8½ acres of bush land, called a tax allotment, and a small town
allotment on which to build a house. The hereditary tax and town allotments [428]
pass from father to eldest son. Legally defined annual rents or tax allotments
to be paid either to the government or noble landlords are nominal, and these 423
are often neither collected nor paid by the small-holder. No land in Tonga 427
can be sold to foreigners, but leasing is permitted under strict government
control. This individualized land tenure system served to transfer the prerogative 423
of land distribution from local chiefs and lineage heads of local descent groups 565
in the old order to the monarchical government. 178

Overlaying this prospective patch-work division of Tongan society into
family farms were the grants of landed estates or *tofi'a* to selected hereditary 423
chiefly lines of the old order, constituted as a nobility. In contrast, the majority 565
of pre-Tupou chiefs still informally pass on their titles, which now have only 641
ceremonial or ritual significance, but they have effectively been reduced to the [428]
same legal and social status as all other small-holding farmers. [178]

From the end of Tupou I's reign to the present, nobles as landlords have
been legally restrained in their control of both the people and the lands of 565
their estates. They cannot arbitrarily control the rents, services, or tenure 427
of their small-holding tenants. They can hold undistributed land on their 423
estates for themselves and can select holders in the distribution of unallocated [178]
land, but even this latter prerogative is mediated by the final approval of the
Minister of Lands. Given land shortage, the import of the noble's personal 423
distribution of available holdings is diminishing, but also as a result, this prerogative 565
has been the focus for much of the traditional and current abuse of the nobility's [178]
rights in control of its estates (in the form of receiving bribes and services
outside the law). Land which is not divided into hereditary noble *tofi'a* is [661]
either Crown estates or the personal estates of the King and Royal Family.

Land practice has never scrupulously followed the definition of the legal 423
provisions, either when land was more plentiful or now that land is scarce. 183
For instance, several noble landlords have thus far enjoyed considerable
traditional prestige among the people of their estates which has given them [565]
more actual control of their estates than the law grants them. Also, the
distribution and management of individual holdings has in general occurred
in the context of broader kin networks and decision-making processes than
might be expected from the ideal distribution and control of land in independent
nuclear family units, as suggested by the legal definition of land tenure (see
Marcus, 1975a). Nonetheless, the legal provisions of land tenure have shaped 423
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423 and modified the directions of change in patterns of land-holding and
[178 consequently in social structure. As such, the land at the very least has
[554 served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the
[641] new order and as the social foundation for the broader definition of individual
rights in the Tongan Constitution.

565 Impressions of Europeans concerning contemporary Tongan society inevitably
focus on the noble-commoner division as defining the major lines
565 of class in the monarchy. Undoubtedly, the decision to preserve a limited
number of major traditional chiefs in the form of western-styled noble landlords
177 in the nineteenth century was partially motivated by a need to conform to
648 European views of what the basis of a modern constitutional monarchy should
be, since it appears that the independence of Tonga at the time was dependent
on a self-transformation which courted Western views of 'civilized' institutions.
565 However, Tongans themselves have never entirely accustomed themselves to
the view that the *kau nopele* ('the noble title-holders') alone encompass the
hou'eiki (broadly, chiefs and aristocrats) of modern Tonga. The modern
nobility is not isomorphic with the blood aristocrats of Tonga. In fact, several
of the nobles, although formally recognized or equated as *hou'eiki* by law,
are not considered aristocrats by Tongans in general or by the residents of the
estates of these nobles in particular. The use of the concept *'eiki*, the
traditional 'cover' term denoting chiefly status, has been widely expanded in
modern Tonga to apply to a great number of contexts beyond its traditional
meanings (for example, ministerial posts, some held by commoners, are
referred to as *'eiki minisitā*).

[114] Elizabeth Spillius, in her excellent intensive work at the court of the
late Queen Sālote (1960), defined the traditional principles of Tongan *'eiki*
565 classification. In pre-contact times, the concept of *sino'i 'eiki* (literally, 'chiefly
body') meant broadly 'aristocrat by blood' and had both loose and restricted
175 meanings. The *'eiki* were strictly the Tu'i Tonga and his major wife and
643 children, while loosely the term applied to all people who could trace a fairly
close blood connection with the Tu'i Tonga. Furthermore, aside from this
565 loose and restricted meaning of *'eiki*, which definitely classed certain individuals
175 at the apex of society as either *'eiki* or not, the term had completely contextual
554 application where a man might be called *'eiki* in his own village, but when
he was in the presence of outsiders of higher rank he might be referred to
by a demeaning term such as *motu'a* ('old one'). The English word chief
565 connotes authority over territory and a group of subjects, but there is no
175 exact Tongan linguistic equivalent. There were chiefs without title and without
'eiki blood, and they would be referred to, depending on occasion, as *tauhi
fonua* ('keepers of the land') or *ivilahi* ('men of personal skill and power').
Some chiefs held titles and some not, some were blood *'eiki* (*sino'i 'eiki*) and
565 some not. With the establishment of the nobility, *'eiki* status in a legal or
641

official sense became formally recognized as title-holding combined with landholding 565
(the post-Constitutional equivalent of chiefly authority). But what [641]
of the mystique of *sino'i 'eiki*, which alone was the defining criterion in old
Tonga of aristocratic status?

With the death of the incumbent Tu'i Tonga in 1865, the office of Tu'i 643
Tonga became defunct. A son of the last Tu'i Tonga, who was a sororal 565
nephew of the new King, Tupou I, was appointed to the nobility with the
title of Kalaniuvalu. The line of Kalaniuvalu was to represent permanently [178]
the old Tu'i Tonga line within the nobility of the new order. Through later
strategic marriages, the Tupou dynasty has assimilated a number of connections [581]
with the direct blood descent line of the defunct Tu'i Tonga, the pinnacle
from which aristocratic honour was derived in the old order. The tendency
since the Constitution, then, has been a shift in the aristocratic mystique of [178]
deriving *sino'i 'eiki* status from close kinship with the Tu'i Tonga to deriving
such status from close connection by blood with the present ruling line.

Few present nobles qualify as aristocrats, determined by their close kinship 565
with the Royal Family. The non- *sino'i 'eiki* nobility might be termed gentry,
for primarily it is their legal, landed status and title-holding which mark them [641]
as different from anybody else.[6] Whether or not they can assert their authority
over the people resident on their estates in the style of old chiefs varies from
case to case. Furthermore, there are many individuals in Tonga, without noble
title and thus technically commoners, who either directly descend from the last
Tu'i Tonga or are close kin of the Royal Family and are thus *sino'i 'eiki* or of
aristocratic chiefly status. Such untitled individuals are in a sense of higher [554]
status than gentry noble title-holders.

Since the giving of the Constitution, the noble title system has been 565
streamlined and consolidated, partially the result of royal policy of the Tupou 178
dynasty and partially a matter of circumstance. Structurally, three trends are
evident. Firstly, the monarchs have tended to cultivate certain noble titles and 643
to integrate them by intermarriage to the royal blood line. These titleholders [581]

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[6] Aside from possession of estates, which are a source of potential wealth, despite
the legal restraints on the noble's control of his land, special access to parliamentary [646]
participation is the other major legally-defined privilege of the nobility. The Legislative
Assembly consists of 7 Noble Representatives, elected triannually among themselves [178]
and apportioned regionally, and 7 People's Representatives, elected triannually among
the general population and apportioned regionally. In the past, the Legislative Assembly
has been a weak institution, submissive to the will of the executive, but recently, it has
become a more lively arm of government, as members are more vocal and independent
in their statements of opinion concerning proposals presented to them and in placing
motions. Although the nobility has no formally defined rights to participate in the
executive bodies of Cabinet and Privy Council, monarchs in the past have typically
appointed noble title-holders to high government positions. Noble title-holders have not
typically been employed as civil servants, but the nobility has enjoyed special channels [662]
of influence in securing sought-after employment in the government for kin, friends, and
clients. Since the succession of Tupou IV, however, the potential of such influence has
diminished for all but a few noble families.

565 are aristocrats by the modern application of the old principle that true chiefs
178 are close blood kinsmen (*sino'i 'eiki*) of the King (previously the Tu'i Tonga,
[643] but now the Tupou Kings). Secondly, title-holders who are not closely related
to the King or to one of the aristocratic nobles are the gentry nobility that was
[558] mentioned. In the current situation, the gentry nobles are left to their own
fortunes, which means that without *sino'i 'eiki* blood connections established
through marriage or high government position, controlled from the centre, they
decline in respectability and image among the people. Finally, certain key
565 titles of old Tonga, which were associated with regional, independent chiefs of
178 considerable power, have become vacant and may be resurrected by the monarch
643 according to his wishes. It is generally believed that younger male children
of the King may be appointed to the more prestigious of these vacant titles.[7]

Before the Tupou era, *'eiki* honour was closely guarded, promoted, and at
565 least partially defined by the major chiefly kin groups themselves, much as kin
178 groups at various levels control the appointment and manipulate the status of
[171] chiefly titles in modern Samoa. With the implementation of the noble title
system, *'eiki* honour became a monopoly and a prerogative (in the control of
title and estate location) of the centre in the process of consolidating the surviving
chiefly system. In contemporary Tonga, the process of refining the century-long
consolidation begun by Tupou I continues.

Succession to Hereditary Titles and Estates

565 In pre-Constitutional Tonga, succession to positions of authority and titled
175 office was patrilineally determined, based on seniority in lineality and age,
611 and applied to all units of social organization from the domestic group headed
by the *tamai* ('father'), to the local descent group headed by the *'ulu motu'a*
428 ('elder head'), to the Kingship itself. It is worth emphasizing that patrilineality
[178] was a predominant trend, specifically in succession to positions of authority
throughout the traditional polity, but it in no way had the force of law that
it now has. In the traditional order, direct patrilineal succession was always
contingent upon variations in personality, ability, and relative conditions of
power and authority among related kin groups.

Eldest brother-younger brother succession was frequent, and some say, a preferred path of traditional succession to chiefly position. Younger brother

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[7] Of the 33 noble titles, five are currently vacant and two are held jointly by a single holder, making a current total of 27 noble title-holders. Of these, three titles are held within the Royal Family. Of the remaining 24 title-holders, I estimate that five are clearly of *sino'i 'eiki* or aristocratic status, marked by their close kinship with the dynastic line, in turn developed through intermarriages of their respective lines during two or more past generations with the dynastic line. These aristocratic nobles hold important government positions. The remaining 19 noble title-holders are gentry, some recognized kinsmen of the aristocrats and the King, some totally without such relationships. The six *matāpule* estate-holders might be classed with the gentry nobility. One *matāpule* title is held jointly by a gentry noble title-holder, and one *matāpule* title-holder holds high government office.

succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the 565
lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike 175
among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some 611
informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because 428
of *toto mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly
status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's [554]
eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his
father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly
position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are
exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid 565
or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs 178
may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers 611
and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural 428
tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, 175
and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. 565
Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava 643
ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served
kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, 175
called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the 565
appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the 276
new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title. 431
Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head
of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting [643]
chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch [178]
continues to install the nobility in the customary manner.

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as 641
a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the
Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there 428
are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and 423
tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. 565
This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of 671

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[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngesi taha* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

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succession was just as appropriate and permanent as eldest son succession, 428
manifesting the pre-Constitutional tension between the two alternative kin 423
positions that were both common successors to titles of deceased holders. 565

Through a set of ordered priorities the succession law defines a discrete 671
and exclusive kin position to hold hereditary lands and titled honour associated
with them. This formalization of customary succession had important effects on 565
relationships within the kin groups of noble title-holders. The exclusive 641
definition of the nobility in terms of individuals created a basic ambiguity and
tension within modern noble families regarding the limits of the distribution 428
of noble titles as a resource among kinsmen both in terms of chiefly honour and 178
wealth. Presumably, in pre-Constitutional Tonga, titles were held by individuals 602
according to customary rules of succession similar to the present laws, but it 671
was chiefly honour and leadership responsibility, not primarily land as such, [423]
that was the 'thing' held and transmitted. Furthermore, chiefly honour was
clearly a kin group resource, merely focussed or represented in the title. The
final arbiter of succession, given customary patrilineal practice, was some [611]
process of decision-making among the kin group members. The institution of
strict legal procedures governing succession removed the final determination of
succession from within the chiefly kindred as well as made problematic the
extent to which noble status could be claimed beyond the legally determined
title-holder and his heir.

NOBLE TITLE SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The Context and Conditions of Succession Disputes

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In line with the positive, if not enthusiastic, moves toward modernization, 178
embodied in the nineteenth-century reforms, Tongan law makes no mention of or 565
allowance for customary practices (except in one case which will be discussed
below). In a sense, law as the vehicle of transformation was intended to be a
virtual replacement for customary practices. Thus surviving customary practice
has a shadowy existence outside the law without explicit indications as to
what the orientation of law toward surviving custom should be. The status of 671
Tongan law in relation to custom is in marked contrast, for example, to the
situation in neighbouring Western Samoa. There, the orientation of law to 171
custom, especially chiefly custom, is explicit: custom is neither defined nor 565
codified but is is clearly provided for as the standard governing certain practices.
For example, the Land and Titles Court in Western Samoa is a constitutionally
sanctioned but customary institution through which disputes to chiefly titles
and lands (the *matai* system) are adjudicated according to interpretation of
uncodified customary practice.

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In Tonga, disputes concerning lands and titles are the area of law most 423
likely to raise issues of customary practice. However, since the present land 428

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themselves in informal competition with these individuals for the exercise of 428
leadership within the narrow chiefly family and sometimes for control of 602
chiefly authority over the estates associated with the title. [554]

The cases that have occurred within a narrow range of relationship are [596]
not characterized by sharp persisting factionalism, but rather by a short-lived
confrontation, after which any further competition dissolves into or continues [626]
at a more informal, subtle level (publicly articulated only in casual rumour and gossip), within the immediate extended family of the title-holder.

An overall assessment from the three types of cases, based on kin 565
relatedness, is that although the role of the lawyer has been crucial in arguing 428
cases and occasionally in motivating them, the appearance of succession cases 602
is more significantly related to the internal reorganization of chiefly kin groups, 691
generally through the levelling reforms of the nineteenth century (in the 178
creation of discrete, economically self-sufficient nuclear family units and
specifically through the structure and implementation of the legal definition of 694
the nobility. Although competition for chiefly status is clearly evident among 565
kin group members, the continuing overt bitterness between the winners and 428
losers is remarkably short-lived after a court confrontation and resolution in all 578
three categories of succession cases.[18] 602

In contrast to this characteristic, apparent forgiveness among parties in 565
dispute over succession to titles and estates is the long persisting open bitterness
that follows disputes between two title-holding lines over a piece of land, 423
claimed as part of their respective estates (see Hunter, 1963, for reports of 602
such cases). Perhaps the difference is that there is nothing to be gained and 428
much to be lost by persistently and openly bemoaning a claim to a title that 578
has been lost, but that a loss of a piece of land, traditionally associated with one title, to another title line is a serious affront to the honour of the losing title and can be a considerable drain on the resources of the holding line.

Although a good deal of ill-feeling may persist in a line that has lost a 565
title or claim, it is a disadvantageous strategy to voice it or let it surface. Not 428
only would one be accused of blatantly disrupting peace (*melino*) in the kindred 602
(which is an explicit value in Tongan kinship, and disruption of which is the 578
basis of criticism to which a person is already vulnerable if he has precipitated 554

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[18] Although the Vakalā cases were perhaps the bitterest of succession disputes as well as the manifestly longest lived, reoccurring as litigation twice in successive generations, the present relations between the loser, Z, and the title-holder, D, are not at all strained or embarrassed when they meet on social occasions. It is probably true, however, that they avoid each other as much as possible. Likewise, while I was living in Kaila'ā's household, the son of the man whom Kaila'ā defeated to gain his title came to visit and live within Kaila'ā's home for several weeks. The occurrence of a succession dispute between Kaila'ā and the visitor's father had no apparent influence on their present relations. In fact, the visitor was quite willing to discuss the succession dispute in the presence of the noble without any sense of embarrassment or bitterness. The conflict was seen in retrospect as an impersonal, ephemeral matter.

Tongans often spoke to me of the succession disputes as being *fakamā* 565
("shameful" or "embarrassing"), but this feeling concerned the public airing of 428
intra-kin group disputes, rather than behaviour specifically unbecoming nobles 829
as such. The implication from such popular response to title cases is that they
had become generally conceptualized just as Queen Sālote had apparently feared
they would: primarily as disputes among otherwise ordinary people for the
possession of chiefly resources in the form of landed wealth and honour embodied
in titled office. Perhaps most clearly the succession cases illustrate the disjunction 565
between chiefliness as formally defined, title-vested privilege and chiefliness as
an exclusive attribute of either kingly blood descent, kingly favour, or direct 428
descent from pre-Constitutional chiefly lines, vested in individuals. Although 554
aristocratic blood and title honour overlap on one extreme, the outcomes of
certain succession cases reveal the completely pedestrian nature of mere title-holding,
on the other, where a person, who possesses neither current blood
'eiki-ness nor is in the traditional direct line of succession, has gained access
through litigation to a title and enjoys the privileges and respects of a title-holder.

The noble title system is a set of offices with defined privileges that 565
represent a chiefly heritage in support of the Tupou dynasty, which may or may 428
not be all occupied at any point of time by the appropriate traditional title-
holding lines. In theory, it is appropriate for anyone, who legally qualifies, to [641]
be a noble, however his social standing may have declined in post-1875 Tongan [554]
society. Although certainly not open to broad segments of the population,
access to the nobility, as has been publicly demonstrated in court, is not all
that exclusive either.

Still, despite such demonstrations, the majority of gentry titles are held
by lines that have been in continuous possession of them from the
pre-Constitutional period. But even within these chiefly kin groups, succession 565
cases reveal the same sorts of striving, competition, and cooperation among 428
discrete family units that are also the social processes within all other, presumably
commoner, kin groups in modern Tonga. The chiefly kin groups differ only in 602
that they can compete for or share in specially defined resources (title-office and 593
associated estates) from which others are excluded. In the modern context,
noble title-holding only rarely entails active leadership of groups of people. 565
Outside leadership in ritual or ceremonial contexts, the regional and local chiefs [178]
have been supplanted by a bureaucratic state and church organization. Thus,
possessing a noble title and estates is a matter of enjoying a personal (and to
some extent family kin group) resource rather than accepting administrative
responsibilities.

What succession disputes have revealed most broadly, then, is that the 565
defined sector of privilege in the new order — the nobility — has been ringed on 571
all sides and thoroughly infiltrated by the socially levelling and individualizing 178
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565 forces generated through Tupou's reforms. Formal respects vested in titled
571 office itself are not affected by or sensitive to this infiltration, which is reflected
178 in the diverse degrees of *sino'i 'eiki* and informal chiefly status attribution
554 among the individuals who enjoy the rewards and legal privileges of holding
noble office. Although there is this diversity among title-holders concerning
the degree to which any particular individual title-holder can be considered
personally of aristocratic status, the succession cases have nonetheless served to
instill generally the impression of inherent sameness or homogeneity with the
rest of the population of those occupying positions within a sector of privilege
that Tupou had provisionally exempted from his levelling reforms.

565 The concept of chiefly honour survives in Tonga in a much more elaborate
554 form than, for example, in Samoa. There, the core of chiefly honour is the
171 *matai* title, which defines an effective leadership position or office that is still
presumably controlled in appointment within its associated kin group. In Tonga,
565 the chiefly status of the title is undercut by the more authentically valued *'eiki*
honour derived from aristocratic blood descent. Squeezed between a surviving
554 "purer" criterion of aristocratic honour on one side and the disappearance of
178 effective chiefly authority on the other, noble title honour and resources in
[571] themselves have become a special prize of limited access within the overall
structure of new opportunities for social mobility among a homogeneously
organized population of independent family units. The succession cases are an
important manifestation of the inclusion of at least the gentry nobility within
the westernizing trends of the post-1875 compromise culture in Tonga.

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than the way in which they noose sharks; instances of sharks attacking 226
natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also 225
plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-
tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to 231
have been left by Captain Cook; it has been scarred by bush-fires and 825
other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief
and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila. 552

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the 245
most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very
close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried
kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in 241
profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato,
talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and
arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not
yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been
introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and 439
oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The
staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, 262
plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making 824
native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for [287]
stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus,
but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, [285]
except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used [178]
for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building [313]
European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina
tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for
spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought 505
from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available. 439

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink 276
on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of
banyan; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries;
Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round 137
the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times. 824

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut
trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by 245
Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals 433
and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly
considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, 433
especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred tax- 311
payers have no allotments; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence
on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the
overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance
to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts 179
to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and 245

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), 563
and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to
increase.

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract 563
Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are 167
mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants.

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 163
40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years
is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, 000
Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000.

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 163
17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, 848
for example, represents 4.80 per cent. 000

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 165
per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for
the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, 000
Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some
other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New
Zealand 8.5 per 1,000.

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden 757
by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government [656]
Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified
by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is [165]
better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended.
The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, 759
and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central 757
Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European
treatment among the Tongan people. 178

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% 165
of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza
1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not 164
usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to
Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical 164
Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is
recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek
treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average 165
annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France,
9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand.

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants
under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming
figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate
was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and 000
Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births.

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, 162
as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to [581]
marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05. [586]

000 ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Tongan Agricultural System: With Special Emphasis on Plant Assemblages

by

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University of California, Los Angeles, 1975
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105 Despite continued exposure to foreign technologies and
241 value systems, the Tongan agricultural system is still
178 characterized by bush-fallow cultivation and a dependence
177 on root crops grown in association with a great variety of
traditional and some recently introduced cultivated and
wild plants. The system, however, seems to be undergoing
rapid change due to a number of factors, including increas-
ing population pressure on land, increasing dependence on
the cash economy and commercial agriculture, and introduced
121 technology. This dissertation attempts to examine the
system as it existed in 1971-1972 in order to gain a better
understanding of the nature of the plant assemblages, their
importance to the Tongan society and present and future

241 common with subsistence crops but uncommon with commercial crops. In addition to these crops, there was a great range of food and non-food plants, plus over 90 tree species which were either cultivated or protected on bush allotments. Almost all these plants, including many species found in the fallow vegetation, are of some value to Tongans as sources of food or for purposes such as house construction or the preparation of handicrafts, folk medicines, dyes, scents, decorations,or other material goods. The town allotments had a similar range of food and non-food plants and likewise constitute a valuable agricultural resource.

241 178 Despite the seemingly unchanged nature of the agricultural system, definite trends or developmental paths are evident. These include: an increase in number and decrease in size of bush allotments with a concomitant intensification of agriculture; an increase in cultivation on town allotments as bush allotments become unobtainable; an increase in cultivation of commercial crops and the use of scientific farming methods; an increase in cultivation of crops used for handicrafts; an overall replacement of traditional crops and natural vegetation by recently introduced plant species and varieties. In short, it seems that the Tongan agricultural system is likely to undergo rapid change with the possible extinction of many valuable plant species. This seems to be happening with little

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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consideration being given by developmental planners to the considerable cultural and ecological importance of these plants.

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

000 Across the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean are scattered thousands of small islands, many of which form discrete island groups. Most of these island groups have, until recently, been relatively unaffected by external contacts and have been the focus of numerous studies of traditional societies and economic systems. Within the last century, however, and particulary since World War II, the Pacific Islands have undergone considerable change owing to increasing exposure to foreign cultures, their value systems, and their technologies.

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433 An excellent example of an island group which, although particularly vulnerable to social and economic change today, has retained much of its traditional social structure and economy is the Tongan Archipelago or Friendly Islands in the Southwest Pacific. Cumberland (1961:272) said of this archipelago that "no other group has yet adapted its economy so successfully to the modern commercial system and at the same time retained the essential family subsistence basis of its pre-European society and [648] economy." The fact that Tonga has been able to preserve much of its traditional economy, while remaining among

178 the most sophisticated island cultures in the Pacific, can
648 be at least partially traced to a number of factors: 1)
433 Tonga is the only major Island group in the Pacific that
has never been directly under the domination of a foreign
power; 2) all land is owned by native Tongans; 3) Tonga
is situated in a comparatively isolated and unstrategic
location; and, 4) apart from agricultural produce, land,
and human labor, Tonga has no known resources of any
substantial economic value to foreign interests.

178 As a result, the traditional Tongan agricultural
241 system is in many ways much the same as it was when Tasman
[433] first discovered the archipelago in 1642. The diet is
[262] still based on root and tree crops as part of a "bush
fallow" system, and many medicines, cosmetics, beverages,
fibers, ornaments and other subsistence needs are ful-
241 filled by the present agricultural system. However, as
433 stated by Schultz (1964: 3),

> The man who farms as his forefathers did cannot produce much food no matter now rich the land or how hard he works. The farmer who has access to and knows how to use what science knows about soils, plants, animals, and machines can produce an abundance of food though the land be poor. Nor need he work nearly so hard and long. He can produce so much that his brothers and some of his neighbors will move to town to earn a living. Enough farm products can be produced without them. The knowledge that makes this transformation possible is a form of capital whenever it is an integral part of the material inputs farmers use and whenever it is a part of their skills and what they know.

241 The present Tongan farmers have a wealth of empirical
433 knowledge about their environment and traditional crops and
cropping practices. Unfortunately, as suggested by
Schultz, new forms of capital are needed to provide for the
241 future. Foreign degrees in agricultural science, agri-
433 cultural machinery, pesticides and fertilizers, breeding
178 stock and planting material from overseas, and technical
177 and financial aid are already beginning to bring about
242 changes in the traditional agricultural system.

Nature of Study

128 It is the primary aim of this dissertation to look
at the Tongan agricultural system as it existed in 1971-
1972. Particular emphasis will be placed on plant species,
plant associations and selected agricultural practices.
121 There are two major reasons for conducting an investigation
of this nature. The first is the general concern which
geographers have for man's relationship with and effect on
the earth. A much more immediate reason, however, is
that because steadily increasing population pressure is
forcing agricultural systems to change dramatically, better
understanding of traditional agricultural systems can help
effect change with minimum cultural disruption and shock.

Studies which have dealt with some aspects of traditional Pacific Island agricultural systems are numerous. Most of these fall into four general categories:
1) general descriptions of the agricultural landscape and

178 241 654 [177] [647] After the supplementary Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain in 1905, the mercantile functions of the traders were reduced gradually and the Tongan government, with British guidance, assumed greater responsibility for economic and agricultural activities. Major moves to "Tonganize" or localize the commercial agricultural economy included: the appointment of an agricultural advisor in 1901 and a Director of Agriculture in 1939 (Maude, 1965:43-44); the formation of the Tonga Copra Board in 1942; and the formation of the Tonga Banana Board (now the Tonga Produce Board) in 1949.

177 [368] The Tongan culture was strongly affected by the Second World War when Tongatapu became a staging area for shipping wartime supplies. Roads, wharves, a railroad, and the present airport at Fua'amotu were constructed. Of even greater consequence, the Tongan people received additional exposure to the workings of the cash economy as well as an introduction to an almost entirely new set of values, which differed radically from those of the missionaries and the elitist colonial administrators.

177 167 There continues to be a steady stream of temporary non-Tongan administrators, teachers, technical experts and volunteers primarily from Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and, more recently, the United States of America, who continue to have an effect on the Tongan culture in spite of the current wave of Pacific Island nationalism and search for self-identity.

161 1840 by Wilkes may have been an excessively conservative
estimate (Maude, 1965:46), and the figure of 19,186 obtained
from the first official census in 1891 (Matoto, 1971:9) is
probably a better indication of the Tongan population at its
lowest point. From studies of population trends in the
South Pacific in general, Keesing (1942:47) estimated that
"the lowest points in Polynesian populations were reached
variously from 1890 to 1910."

161 The trend of a declining population was reversed around
165 the turn of the century, especially after World War I (Table
6), although about 1600 Tongans died in the worldwide influ-
161 enza epidemic of 1918 (Gifford, 1929:330). Since then,
Tongan population has grown rapidly and, at present, Tonga
has one of the highest population growth rates in the world,
approximately three per cent per annum (Dommen, 1971:6).

161 This rapid growth can be attributed to the development
743 of a medical service, the construction of hospitals, an
312 improvement of public water supplies, an increase in natural
178 immunity to foreign diseases on the part of Tongans, and
post-World War II economic prosperity.

161 From 1921 until the last official census in 1966, the
166 population of the Kingdom increased by about 225 percent
and the population of Tongatapu increased by 390 percent,
168 partly owing to immigration from the outer islands. The
842 Tongan government hopes that the present "family planning"
campaign will help to reduce this growth rate.

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Table 7. Population of Tongatapu (including 'Atata and 'Eueiki), other islands, and Tonga.

Area	1921	1939	1956	1966
Tongatapu	9,794	15,754	31,264	47,920
Other Islands	13,965	18,376	25,574	29,509
Tonga	23,759	34,130	56,833	77,429

Sources: Tupouniua, 1958:41; Fiefia, 1968:9.

class on Tongatapu.

● 178 433 The local marketplace, Talamahu Market, is becoming increasingly important as a source of food for the non-agrarian sector of the population and as a source of cash for the agrarian sectors.

175 361 Settlement Patterns

At the time of European contact, the settlement pattern was reportedly of dispersed residences on individual garden allotments in the bush. [351] Tasman, in 1643, found that "each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences" (Wood, 1945:15). Cook, in 1773, described Tongatapu as follows:

[487]

> The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in a judicious manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no town or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires (Gifford, 1929:5).

361 As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century,
Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the
country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves
361 cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes
621 that:

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy, 1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

361 In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil
712 disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fortresses
[722] known as kolo (the name used today for villages and
towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats,
pits,and other means of defense, were established throughout
Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu,
Kolovai, Nukunuku, Fatai, Longoteme, Kolonga,and Lapaha
(McKern, 1929:80-89)... the sites of present day villages or
towns.

361 Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant
178 settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements
from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden
[177] areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt
encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and
schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns
[423] and villages. The distinction between the 'api kolo (place
to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

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the bush) was also sharpened by legal definition in the "Constitution of 1875" (Walsh, 1970:29-30).

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Nuku'alofa became the center of Wesleyan missionary work in 1828; in 1845, King George Tupou I selected it as the site for his capital (Maude, 1965:63). Since that time Nuku'alofa, which is composed of three coalescent villages, Kolomotu'a (Old Town), Kolofo'ou (New Town), and Ma'ufanga, has been the religious, governmental, educational, commercial, economic, and cultural center of Tonga.

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Including the three villages of Nuku'alofa, there are 59 villages on Tongatapu, almost all situated on the road which encircles the island. In 1966 the "urbanized" area of Nuku'alofa with the satellite town of Haveluloto had a population of 17,241; the next largest village is Mu'a (which includes Tatakamotonga and Lapaha), the ancient capital located in the Eastern District, with a population of 3,502. The smallest village is Kala'au in the Southwest with a population of 89; the median population of all villages is 412.5 (based on 1966 census figures).
361
Surrounding each town is an area of bush allotments to which the Tongan farmers commute. In some cases, however, especially in the Fua'amotu-Pelehake area in East-Central Tongatapu, individuals farmers do have permanent residences on the bush allotments.
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In this particular area, the government has attempted to re-eastablish a dispersed settlement pattern by offering them single, larger allotments ranging from 12 and

361 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and
659 bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate
423 success.

361 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has
178 led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty
241 crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the
dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 Ethnic Composition

Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had
[162] a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures
show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of
the total population and over 97 percent of the population
[423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold
rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to
tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which
this study is directed.

162 Age-Sex Structure

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates,
the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young
people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966,
60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more
000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for
employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure
will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

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602
Social Structure

183 Tongan social structure is permeated by countless

601 red are *kainga* and *famili*. The term *famili* seems to be a
612 more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties,
whereas *kainga*, the term which is used in this descrip-
tion of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and
generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as
brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative
592 on two levels: within the household and within the broader
612 extended family or *kainga*. The Tongan household, generally
592 referred to as an '*api* (an allotment of land), is the basic
social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of
591 individuals working, eating,and sleeping together. Resi-
dence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the
husband's village, although there are numerous cases of
matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 In the past, most households were composed of extended
[596] [594] families; however, at present the trend is more toward nu-
[178] clear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real
and/or adopted children. Many households also include un-
married brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or
relative from another village or island group. As of the
1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9
612 persons. The larger unit, the *kainga*, not only includes the
individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who
[602] reside in other households, villages,or island groups. The
[184] size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

602 to her male siblings, in matters pertaining to leadership
593 and inheritance, males generally take precedence. Accord-
554 ingly, the head of the household is generally the oldest
562 male and is referred to as the tangata 'eiki (chiefly man),
[612] and the highest ranking member of the larger kin group,
[592] kainga or famili, is generally the oldest male in the senior male line and is referred to as the 'ulumotu'a (the elderly head) or sometimes the ulu'ifamili (head of the family). In some cases, however, the oldest sister, because of her superior rank, will be regarded as the ulu'motu'a or ulu'-ifamili.

428 In cases of inheritance, however, the right of primogeniture within the patrilineal group prevails. For example, if a man dies, his eldest son or sometimes his younger brother will inherit his title, land, and other possessions A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers and, in effect, inherits from his mother's father.
602 This system of kinship ties establishes a network of inter-
612 relationships which governs a person's social behavior within the kainga thoughout his lifetime.

602 Among kinsmen, these ties still provide the main basis
437 for redistribution and exchange of products from the tradi-
602 tional agricultural system. On the household level, these
592 ties are operative on a day-to-day basis. Among the larger
[612] kin group, however, the kainga, the position of 'ulumotu'a is
[178] more ceremonial than it was in the past. Since the Consti-

602 612 tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater impor-
178 tance than the kainga with respect to land tenure and eco-
[592] nomic activity. Weakening of the kainga has also been
[554] brought about by European contact and increased focus on
[177] individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and
education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for
437 the redistribution of products from the agricultural system
within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those
602 437 which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as
476 births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different
[431] kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of
fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high
social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is
also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities
602 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often
437 from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there
554 is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 554 Ties which help define the role of the individual within the broader context of Tongan society include some pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and other more contemporary ties related to the church, the government, and the village.

565 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy
554 of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (eiki,

565 plural hou'eiki) are sub-divided into the highest chief or
554 Tu'i (the modern connotation being King); the remaining
high chiefs or hou'eiki; and the petty chiefs or ceremonial
attendants, the ha'amatapule. The remainder of society are
untitled commoners or tu'a. Membership in all classes is
by birth and, if an individual is an 'eiki or a matapule,
he will have some geneological tie to that title.

554 Within the society there is also an internal ranking
613 system comprised of titled patrilineages known as ha'a,
which have traceable geneological ties to the first Tu'i
Tonga. The closer these ties to the Tu'i Tonga, the higher
[557] one's rank and the more powerful his ha'a. In numerous
cases, inter-marriage between the different ha'a has
resulted in the strengthening of one's geneological ties
to the first Tu'i Tonga and his ranking within the Tongan
society. The highest ranking lineage, comprised of the
direct descendents of the Tu'i Tonga, is called sina'e,
whereas the remaining lineages are known as ha'a.

613 Another grouping, the matakali or fa'ahinga, is often
mentioned as a sub-division of the larger lineal grouping,
613 the ha'a. In the past, when the head of the matakali, the
423 ulumotu'a, had a role in the distribution of land, this
[178] was probably true. At the present time, however, since
the changes in the land tenure system in 1875, the role of
the matakali has had decreasing importance, except in a
613 621 ceremonial context. According to Morton (1972:50), the

613 matakali tends to be a residence group rather than a
621 segment of the larger lineal group.

565 As a result of the Constitution of 1875, the more
641 modern title of noble (nopele)was created and, by 1882, a
[178] number of the traditional chiefs (from the more powerful
ha'a) and three high-ranking matapule had been appointed
[423] nobles. These nobles have the right to elect their own
parliamentary representatives in the government and, along
with six additional matapule, hold legal title to land in
the form of hereditary estates or tofi'a. Legally, there
are 33 nobles; however, there are only 29 title holders at
present, owing to the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965:
[178] 56). The traditional chiefs who were not designated as
nobles, although retaining their titles, presently have
little or no political power, and are functional primarily
in a ceremonial capacity.

565 According to Aoyagi (1966) and Morton (1972), most
613 Tongan commoners do not know their ha'a relationship, but,
423 on the basis of residence, generally claim an affiliation
571 to the noble or traditional chief who is the "landlord" of
their district, thus establishing a social relationship
based on land tenure.

463 A further facet of Tongan social organization was the
565 position of the artisan or craftsman. In the traditional
554 sense, the possession of skills and the rights to profes-
[428] sions, such as carpentry, net making, boat building,

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565 medicine, deep sea fishing, and funeral directing, was
554 hereditary. Consequently a class of artisans arose in the
[428] society and, as a result of their inherited roles, were
ranked somewhat above the Tongan commoner. In some cases,
[178] there are still families or individuals who, although
technically commoners, are shown special respect owing to
their positions as traditional artisans or craftsmen.

571 In addition to these traditional rankings and ties,
554 there are numerous contemporary ties which determine an
individual's position or behaviour within the society.

642 The present government is a constitutional monarchy,
comprised of the King, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, a Cabinet,
645 Privy Council, and a Parliament. The Cabinet includes the
Speaker, Ministers of the Crown, the Governors of Ha'apai
and Vava'u, and is presided over by the Prime Minister,
Prince Tu'ipelehake (the King's brother). All Ministers
are appointed by the King and hold their positions until
retirement age. The Cabinet becomes the Privy Council when
646 presided over by the King. The Parliament consists of the
Cabinet Ministers, seven nobles elected by the hereditary
nobles, and seven commoners elected every three years by
the people.

554 Although some members of government have high rank in
565 the traditional social structure, those Members of
645 Parliament elected by the people and appointed Ministers of
646 the Crown constitute the contemporary elite, often more

795 church officials comes directly or indirectly from the
434 agricultural system. It is not uncommon for a family to
give more than fifty percent of its annual income to
support the church.

871 An increasingly important focus of Tongan society is
178 on formal education. In many cases, the tangata poto (the
555 wise or educated man) is considered almost on par with
554 traditional leadership and has been able to ascend to
positions of power and prestige within Tongan government
871 and society. Villages and families play a major role in
supporting church, government, and private schools through
875 fees or by providing labor and produce. Teachers,
554 especially headmasters, are becoming increasingly influ-
178 ential personalities in the contemporary society.

621 Divisiveness is sometimes brought about by diverse
[578] religious affiliations within a village, but usually the
spirit of neighborliness within a given village, especially
a small one, makes it a viable social unit. In the past
more villages were comprised of members of the same kainga,
matakali or even ha'a. At present, however, most villages
are comprised of individuals of many different families,
lineages, and religious denominations, but there is still
a feeling of "oneness" and the concept of neighborliness or
feitokoni'aki (helping one another) within the village and
622 among affiliates of a common landlord. Traditionally,
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565 village leadership was in the hands of the noble. At

622 178 565 present, however, most nobles live in Nuku'alofa, and effective local leadership is often in the hands of church officials, teachers, or government officials. 556 178 The accumulation of wealth and acquisition of European houses, motor vehicles, and other European goods are also increasingly important status symbols. 556 For example, in some villages, owners of small trading stores, buses, or trucks have gained prestige and social effectiveness. [571] [602] Puthermore, the wealthier a person, the easier it is for him to satisfy both his kinship and social obligations. In many cases, wealth is a result of increased commercial agricultural production.

423 427 565 The nobles control the land of the Kingdom, and many farmers try to maintain good relationships with their landlords by making presentations of food and other goods or providing labor. 427 565 651 In the past, it was customary for all Tongans to reserve the "first fruits" for the King, the local chief, or the local minister (faifekau). In fact according to Gifford (1929:104), commoners' gardens were inspected and the choicest yams, plantains, taros, etc., as well as pigs over a certain size, were tapu (sacred) and were to be preserved for the King and other high chiefs.

423 427 565 178 651 Since 1875, when a system of legal land registration was started, this practice of presenting the first fruits, known as 'inasi or polopolo, has declined considerably, With increasing outside influence through the church and

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider acceptance
427 and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. However,
178 there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and continue
to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for
the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule,
town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers,
schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social
atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor
are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do
these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral
exchanges of cash, food, and services, but they also provide
the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social,
178 economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
602 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
571 major role with the social and economic life of the average
[177] Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[182] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an

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177 increased dependence on the cash economy, the traditional
182 forms of social organization are changing to allow more
602 individualism, egalitarianism, and personal freedom and
571 consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricultural system.

Land Tenure

175 **Traditional Land Tenure**

423 Of the limited information concerning Tongan land
tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive
survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the
pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of overlapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individua-
175 listic present system. The basic landholding group was a
423 patrilineal known as a fa'ahinga or matakali. Each
565 fa'ahinga was headed by an ulumotu'a, who usually held a
631 hereditary title such as matapule (Ceremonial attendant) or
613 foha to the chief.
[621]

A number of these fa'ahinga were grouped under the
authority of a chief, the highest ranking fa'ahinga with-
175 in this group being the chief's own. A number of related
423 chiefs, and their fa'ahinga, were grouped into ha'a, which
613 had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough
631 but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude,
565 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably
613 vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the
[643] highest ranking ha'a.

423 missionaries to emancipate the Tongan commoner from
178 serfdom, forced labor, and obligatory contributions to
656 traditional chiefs (Wood, 1945:56-57; Rutherford, 1971:58;
177 Maude, 1971:110). Further changes were brought about by
423 the Constitution of 1875. One of the major provisions of
178 the Constitution was the granting of "legal" estates or
565 tofi'a to a number of the traditional chiefs. This provided
641 for the re-establishment of a landed nobility, which had
been, in law but not in practice, eliminated in 1852.
423 Accordingly, by 1882, Tupou I had appointed 30 traditional
565 chiefs and six matapules as virtual landlords of hereditary
641 estates thoughout Tonga. The nobles thus created had the
[427] right to lease land in their districts to Tongans and, with
423 the Cabinet's approval to foreigners. The balance of the
land not included in the 36 grants remained under the
control of the Crown. The Act of 1882 established the right
423 of each Tongan male sixteen years of age or older to both
641 a town allotment ('api kolo) and a bush or garden allotment
659 ('api 'uta) to be granted to him by the holder of the estate
on which he resided; in 1891, the government assumed responsibility for granting allotments (although estate holders
continued to receive the rent); and in 1915, estate holders
were given the right to be consulted before the government
(through the Minister of Lands) granted allotments from
their estates (Maude, 1971:111).

423 The primary basis for the present system is the Land

423 311 [427] [178] and grazing of cattle. A considerable portion of the unsubdivided land now held by the nobles was in former European leaseholdings, which were not renewed. At present, much of this land is underutilized and many of the coconut plantations have deteriorated since the termination of the leases.

423 427 [178] In the past, there were over 8,000 acres (3,200 hectares) of leasehold land on Tongatapu, but the acreage continues to decrease as leases expire without renewal. Based on records in the Lands and Survey Department, there are at present 162 leases, sub-leases or permits over 2 acres in size, comprising an area of approximately 4,900 acres (2,000 hectares). There are other smaller leases [563] which are of little or no agricultural value. Of these 162 leases, 67 are held by church or missionary societies and 46 by aliens, including resident Europeans and other Pacific Islanders.

423 311 Most large lease holdings are used as copra plantations and for grazing. Some of the larger holdings and many smaller holdings are used as banana plantations, some for traditional Tongan agriculture, some for the production of garden vegetables for overseas export, and perhaps as much as 20 percent of the total area for non-agricultural purposes such as church and school sites.

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Item	Days/Year	Item	Days/Year
Carrots	16.7	Cucumber	3.6
Pumpkin	16.0	Dog	2.8
Green pata banana	13.5	Sonchus oleraceus leaves	2.7
Goa yam	13.4	Ochrosia oppositifolia fruit	2.4
Bell pepper	13.4	Duck	2.2
Lettuce	13.3	Goat	2.0
Solanum nigrum leaves	12.2	Ripe plantain	1.4
Ripe plantain	11.2	Sweet potato leaves	1.1
Swamp taro	8.6	Cordyline terminalis tuber	0.8
Chinese cabbage	6.5	Misapeka banana	0.8
Horsemeat	6.1	Cat	0.3
Ripe mamae banana	6.0	Pandanus fruit	0.3
Sausage (I)	5.6	Polynesian arrowroot	0.2
		Manioc leaves	0.2

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[177]
[439]

Except for ceremonial occasions, European dress and imported material have replaced the tapa cloth worn prior to European contact. However, the traditional ta'ovala, a woven or plaited mat-like garment which is tied around the waist by a cord, is still worn formally and informally by Tongan men and women.

241 245 ities on seven allotments, were intercropped in only one case; this was with manioc.

241 245 The only other cases of commercial intercropping were one case where capsicum and green beans were planted together and another where cantaloupes (meleni maka) were planted with manioc.

241 178 Although intercropping, as part of commercial cropping, is discouraged, this practice continues on bush allotments because emphasis on subsistence production is still great and commercial crops are generally of secondary importance.

Important Tree Species

241 245 A considerable number of important tree species are either cultivated or protected on bush allotments throughout Tongatapu.

Coconut Palms

241 245 125 128 In the case of coconut palms, estimated cover was used rather than counts of individual trees. The intervals used for estimating cover were: 100%, 75%, 50%, 25%, 10%, 5% and 0% (see Appendix A).A Cover was defined as being 100% where palms were planted densely enough to total about 60 per acre (150 per hectare). The head of the Coconut Replanting Scheme considered this to be a fair estimate of the number of palms which, if planted throughout an allotment, would provide optimum yields (Liyanage, D.V., 1971, personal communication). Although individual

A[See Category 125, pp. 350-358--Analyst.]

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[242]
of food, medicines, firewood, fodder, fish poisons, and other valuable products (Table E).^A^ Some such as Cyperus rotundus, Commelina spp., and Psidium guajava constitute noxious weeds which have become a current focus of government control programs.

A number of allotments also had uncultivable areas under "natural" vegetation. These allotments were usually found on the coast and included areas of littoral forest on the low-lying leeward northern coast. Although of limited agricultural potential, they are sources of many useful products and constitute gene pools of many species rapidly disappearing from most bush allotments.

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With respect to agricultural practices and improvements on bush allotments, the technology used by Tongan farmers seems to have changed only slightly in the past hundred years. With the exception of the increased cultivation of manioc, American taro, sweet potatoes, and recently introduced banana clones, traditional crops and tree species are still the dominant features of the agricultural landscape. Cultivation techniques have also changed very little from what was described in the mid-Seventeenth Century (West, 1865:130-139; Maude, 1965:162).

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[412]
[242]
Bush fallow is still the primary means of restoring soil structure and fertility; the most widely used tools are machetes and steel bladed hoes and fire for clearing the vegetation. There is some deliberate planting of Dolichos

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^A^[See Category 137, pp. 377-431--Analyst.]

241 417 [245] Fencing, generally to protect crops such as paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) from destruction by livestock, was found on a number of bush allotments. On 10 percent of the sample allotments good condition barbed wire fencing was used around at least some portions of the land. On others, poor quality fencing or live fences and hedges were found; *Erythrina variegata* and *Jatropha curcas* were commonly used.

241 361 [231] Permanent residences were found on 13 percent of the sample bush allotments. These allotments were generally more intensively cultivated and fruit trees, useful plant species, and livestock were comparatively numerous. Temporary thatched houses were found on many bush allotments; these are generally used in guarding valuable crops.

241 231 [262] In some cases, livestock, primarily horses and cows, were tethered or allowed to graze on bush allotments. Most livestock, especially pigs, chickens, ducks, goats, and dogs (which are commonly eaten) were generally kept on town allotments. In almost all cases where these animals were found on bush allotments, the farmer's permanent residence was situated there also.

241 ● 178 [137] In short, the agricultural system, as practiced on bush allotments, seems to have retained much of its traditional character. The types of crops and protected plants, intercropping practices, and plant successions have undergone few major changes. Some changes which have taken

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place include:

1) the widespread adoption of the two most common staple crops, manioc and American taro which were of little or no importance a century ago (West, 1865:139; Maude, 1965:162);

2) the integration of commercial crops, such as coconuts in formal plantations, bananas, watermelons, pineapples, and in some cases garden vegetables, into the traditional cropping sequences;

3) the shortening of fallow periods with little or no forest fallow; and

4) the modification of fallow vegetation, which is now characterized by shrubs and grasses and has been enriched by the accidental and deliberate introduction of many weedy species, such as Lantana camara, Psidium guajava, Panicum maximum, Leucaena leucocephala, to mention only a few.

Town Allotments.

241 Agriculture as practiced on town allotments, although utilizing much the same technology and most of the same plants, varied considerably from that practiced on bush allotments.
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351 The area of about one-quarter acre available for cropping, dwellings, and other structures, limits the nature of the cropping on town allotments.
241 Nevertheless, these dooryard gardens did appear to supply a great

241 And finally, livestock
369 husbandry was much more widespread on town allotments than
231 on bush allotments.

241 Current Trends and Developmental Paths

Based on the nature of the Tongan agricultural system
178 in 1971-72, there seemed to be some definite trends within
the system and developmental paths that it might follow,
all of which should lead to more intensive use of the land
and increased productivity. Some of these trends or
possible developmental paths include:

241 Decrease in Leasehold Land and Expansion of Bush and Town Allotments

178 As leases expire, many are not being renewed and the
423 land is in some cases being subdivided into bush and town
[427] allotments. More recently, bush allotments are often four
acres in size and town allotments less than one-quarter
241 acre. The existence of these smaller allotments should
178 lead to more intensive cultivation, as was the case with
most of the sampled undersized allotments.

Increase in Scientific Farming Methods

[654] As a result of government encouragement and subsidies,
[242] there seems to be a definite increase in plowing and disc
[312] harrowing; the use of pesticides, fungicides, herbicides, and
fertilizers; the introduction of new crop varieties; the
use of fencing; and dependence on some form of irrigation.

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Increase in Wage Labor

Owing to the increasing need for cash, the growing labor pool, and the number of allotment holders who have wage-paying jobs, there seems to be a definite increase in the number of households employing wage-laborers to work on their allotments.

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Increasing Cultivation on Town Allotments

As the pressure on land becomes more acute, dooryard gardens on town allotments will probably have a greater role in supplying the subsistence needs of the Tongan people. [241] [369] This trend is already evident in Nuku'alofa, where dooryard gardens trend to be much more highly cultivated than those in the less populous rural villages.

Increase in Permanent Dwellings on Bush Allotments

[423] Owing to the limited number of town and bush allotments, the inability of all eligible land holders in a given family to have legal rights to bush allotments, and the improved transportation system, there will probably be an increase in the number of households living permanently on the bush allotments, and a concomitant intensification of agricultural activities on these allotments.

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Increased Cultivation of Non-Traditional Staple Crops

Because of their ease of cultivation and ability to grow on more impoverished soils, there has and will continue to be an increasing dependence on manioc (Manihot esculenta), American taro (Xanthosoma spp.), and sweet

244 potato (Ipomoea batatas). These crops, all of which were
178 infrequently cultivated before the turn of the century,
[438] now have become the most common items sold at Talamahu
Market, and manioc and American taro were the two most widely cultivated crops in terms of acreage.

241 Increased Cash Cropping

178 There will probably be a continued expansion of cash
cropping to supply both overseas markets and the expanding
[242] urban population on Tongatapu. The major focus of govern-
[654] ment extension work is the expansion of commercial cultivation of bananas, coconuts, and a variety of other established crops such as watermelon, pineapple, garden vegetables, and root crops; and experimental crops such as
[435] macadamia nuts, onions, strawberries, and garlic. The
rising prices of products at Talamahu market is also a major incentive for an increase in commercial production of both traditional and recently introduced crops.

434 Increased Cultivation of Crops Used for Handicrafts

439 With the rapid expansion of tourism throughout the
178 Pacific, there is a great demand for the high quality
000 Tongan handicrafts both in Tonga and overseas. Consequently, there could be a considerable expansion in the cultivation of plants such as paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera), pandanus (Pandanus spp.), Job's tears (Coix lachryma-jobi), and bamboo (Bambusa sp.).

245 **Increased Coconut Acreage**

654 Owing to the continued efforts of the Coconut Replant-
435 ing Scheme and the high copra prices in 1974, there should be a major increase in the acreage of systematically planted coconut palms in the next five or ten years.

Possible Expansion of Livestock Husbandry

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654 Because of government livestock subsidy schemes, there is likely to be an expansion of livestock husbandry
311 and pasture improvement. The expansion of pig and poultry
312 husbandry seem to offer the best prospects because of the limited land area and water resources on Tongatapu.
000 Accordingly, Hardaker (1971:70) discouraged a widespread expansion of cattle ownership.

Declining Soil Fertility

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241 Owing to the increasing cropping period and associated decrease in the fallow period, the inherent soil
178 nutrient status and structure of Tongatapu soils have deteriorated considerably. In almost all cases, today's farmers feel that farmers of previous generations received much
241 higher yields due to more fertile soils. The relative
134 amounts of nutrients stored in fallow vegetation depend on the extent to which trees and shrubs have been destroyed, because grasses and herbs store relatively smaller quantities of nutrients. As a result, there is less addition of humus and nutrients to the soil both through litter and root production and through burning. Furthermore, the

241 extension of the cropping cycle reduces the number of
134 stumps, roots, and viable seeds in the ground and slows
down the regrowth of valuable plant species and the
recycling of nutrients (Nye and Greenland, 1960:32-35). The
continued effects of burning also lead to considerable
losses of carbonate and phosphate and an almost total loss
of useful nitrogen and sulphur (Nye and Greenland, 1960:67).
000 These processes, and a continuing dependence on bush fallow
for soil regeneration, will lead to further decline in soil
fertility, unless the use of fertilizers and/or other means
of soil improvement are sought.

Decrease in Native Tree Species

The combined effects of expansion of plowing, the
planting of new coconut palms, the continuing use of fire
in clearing, and the need for firewood and timber will
probably result in the further elimination of native tree
species both from the fallow vegetation and from the few
137 remaining natural forests. Despite occasional protective
313 measures, these tree species continue to be exploited and
some are rarely if ever found anymore.

Shift from Traditional to Introduced Vegetation

241 With the gradual elimination of the native primary
178 and secondary forests on Tongatapu and decreasing fallow
periods coupled with the government's continued attempts
to introduce new plant and tree species, there will
probably be an overall shift of emphasis from native and

241 traditional plants and trees to recent introductions. This
178 is already evident in the increasing importance of manioc,
American taro, and sweet potato as well as in the increasing
cultivation of peanuts, watermelons, pineapples, garden
278 vegetables, and improved banana clones. Although still of
824 widespread importance, the use of traditional folk medicine
[178] is gradually giving way to an increasing acceptance of
modern medicine. Consequently, the great range of plants
and trees used for this purpose may become more expendable.
824 A similar trend exists for trees once valuable for scenting
178 coconut oil, cordage, dyes, soap substitutes, and fish
poisons.

241 An even more pronounced trend, is the replacement of
137 native secondary vegetation by exotic species due to the
178 continual reduction in the duration of fallow periods. The
native forests have had insufficient time to re-establish
themselves and the more hardy introduced pioneer species
are now the dominant vegetation on almost all fallow land
241 on Tongatapu. This rapid expansion of weedy vegetation is
a major problem limiting agricultural production. In
addition to their inferior ability to store soil nutrients,
their removal often constitutes a very high labor input,
and in some cases, because of their increasing occurrence
after the extension of cropping periods, cultivators are
[171] often forced to shift to new plots. Watters (1958:344)
found this the case in Samoa, where, after three successive

241 crops of taro, gardens were often abandoned owing to
171 decreasing yields and an increase in weeds or secondary
241 vegetation. Cyperus rotundus, for example, is a partic-
137 ularly serious problem on Tongatapu, where gardens with
vegetables such as tomatoes, lettuce, corn, and cucumbers
are difficult to maintain and are often abandoned due to
241 excessive labour required to control this weed. There are
numerous other noxious weeds which are detrimental to
agricultural production and are the focus of control
programs.

241 In short, these trends seem to indicate that the
178 native vegetation of Tongatapu and the traditional crop
137 associations of the Tongan bush-fallow agricultural system
are undergoing rapid change and in some cases are in danger
[179] of extinction. This seems to be happening with little or
no consideration being given by developmental planners
to the considerable cultural and ecological importance
of these plants.

[1837-1851]

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(37) Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old
Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(38)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were
definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages
better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing,
however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the
prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no
more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the
dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented
through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive
employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary
Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence.
It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions.
Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being
burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with
harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities
for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before
their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness
to practise immorality.(39) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———————— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [764]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1835 - 1850]

break with the old life. Rabone reproved the people who brought gifts to a wedding and then waited in the expectation of receiving more than they had given (8 January 1838).(42) 797 178

Missionary approval of the adoption of European clothing seems to have been similar to parents' amusement with children's imitation of their elders. As far as leading church-members were concerned, European clothing became part of the formalities attached to worship on the Sabbath. Tongans needed no encouragement to make a good display on public occasions. It was from their own desire that Tongan preachers clothed themselves in ill-fitting black suits that were out of keeping with the climate. The women imitated the missionaries' wives and even outshone them in gaudy frocks and bonnets "from which streamed ribbons of nearly all the hues in the rainbow".(43) John Whewell, a missionary in 1856, strongly condemned the Tongans' desire for "our style of dress". Robert Young, the deputation from the British Conference in 1853, blamed manufacturers and traders for promoting the purchase of European clothing.(44) 797 291

As the years went by, Taufa'ahau's influence and his eloquence as a preacher continued to be invaluable assets of the Mission. The Tongatapu Circuit Reports of the period showed that the king's preaching in the villages was having an effect. In his visit in 1850 Lawry gave his opinion of the Wesleyans' champion: 797 643

> "The more I see of King George the more I am convinced that his high reputation for wisdom, piety and integrity has been well earned; and that, while he stands *first* in all these qualities, he is doing a great work in concert with the missionaries, in spreading the truth, and elevating the people under his dominion. He is a fine person, about 6 ft. 4 ins. high, and well proportioned, with a fine glow of comeliness, intelligence and Christian benevolence." (45)

Soon after his conversion Taufa'ahau had begun "to elevate the people under his dominion" (in Lawry's words) by applying Christian principles to Tonga's social conditions. In doing this he sought, and was often guided by, the opinions of the missionaries whom he regarded as his teachers and his friends.

As a beginning, in 1835 Taufa'ahau was persuaded by Charles Tucker, then a missionary in Ha'apai, to follow the 1833 declaration of emancipation for all slaves in British colonies. It is true that the conditions under which commoners in Tonga served their chiefs were different from the degraded slavery of negroes in the West Indies and other British possessions. However, the tide of humanitarianism that had been sweeping through Britain, especially under the influence of Evangelicals, was set against serfdom in any form. As a convert to the Christian faith, Taufa'ahau felt he should conform to the new pattern. Accordingly he declared his serfs free on 21 August 1835. So light were the bonds and so devoted the people that many wept and expressed their desire to remain in servitude to Taufa'ahau. 797 643 566

In giving advice when requested to do so, the missionaries knew that they must not contravene the "Instructions to Missionaries" issued by the Committee in London. This document, signed by the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Jabez Bunting, John Beecham and Robert Alder, on 30 September 1834, included the following: 797

> "V. We cannot omit, without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties, or secular disputes . . .
>
> IX. It is a positive rule against Wesleyan missionaries not to 'follow trade' . . . and to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary enterprise."

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1942 - 1972]

Chapter XVIII.

"SWIMMING AGAINST THE CURRENT" IN A SECULAR AGE

Inevitably Tonga has been brought into closer contact with the outside 177 world. Its material needs have led to an increase in trade. New forms of communication and travel have removed it from comparative isolation. Tonga is affected by a world which is dominated by materialistic aims. As with other lands, Tonga, too, is feeling the influence of new forces that often come into conflict with its religious life.

In May 1961, Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea presided over the Conference of 000 Churches and Missions in the Pacific, held in Samoa; it was the first inter-church meeting of Pacific Islands Christians. This assembly grappled with the new situation of Christianity in the Pacific, as it said, "swimming against the current". The current of secularism has threatened to engulf the spiritual ideals of many communities. Secularism has mocked the optimism of the missionary slogan at the beginning of the 20th Century: "The evangelization of the whole world in this generation". Religion in Tonga and other Pacific Islands is neither the 771 excrescence nor the irrelevance it is held to be in some Western countries but, on the other hand, it is no longer with many islanders the all-absorbing interest that it was in the early days of the Missions. With some it has become almost a formality. The Church in Tonga realizes this and it is now engaged in what has been called "Second Generation Evangelism".

The impact of World War II was partly responsible for the change. The 177 presence of Allied troops with their material resources brought Tongans face to face with a world based on power and wealth, not on moral and spiritual values. Tonga was fortunate in being entirely spared the sufferings of New Guinea and the Solomons where Japanese occupation inflicted hardship and death on the population. In more subtle ways Tonga was affected by its contact with many representatives of Western society. Allied troops were stationed on Tongatapu from early in 1942; at first these were Americans and, when they were removed to forward areas, New Zealanders took their place. As many as 10,000 overseas servicemen were stationed in Tongatapu at one time. This occupation brought mixed benefits, the easy flow of money and the introduction of the Tongans to a new scale of values.

During the war period the Crown Prince, Taufa'ahau, returned from his 644 studies abroad and quickly assumed a prominent place in Government administration. After education at Tupou College and Newington College, Sydney, he had proceeded to the University of Sydney where he graduated Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws while he was a resident student at Wesley College. He was the first Tongan University graduate. Always he was an avid reader and a keen student of world affairs. His travels in later years enlarged his experience [178]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His 644 brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in [178] agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of 643 Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to 484 the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds. When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode, waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth 648 and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the 643 year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang [794] the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which [513] Tongan church choirs have become renewned. In her message to the royal party after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. 161 Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked 163 decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the [165] Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate, however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% 161 in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000 in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966. It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and [433] this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population [162] is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated [659] by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the [842] average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years [162] ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion, 315 648 1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.[20][A] In [643] connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At hat time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

CONCLUSIONS

● 178 457 What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism [735] are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. [548] Prostitution and homosexuality are increasing.[21][B] [838] Drunkenness is the major source of the increasing crime in the [674] Kingdom. Tongans have been evicted from their own [273] International Dateline Hotel for drunkenness in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the 178 tourist.[22][C] Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for 674 theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23[D] percent over 1972.[23] In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."[24][E] It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict [625] a future of potential increase of crime."[25][F] The Tongan

[p. 92-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

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[625]
[457]

police force has grown steadily over the recent years. A substantial increase in tourism would almost certainly further disrupt Tongan society.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF PAGE 93-B]

NOTES

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1 For changes that have occurred in Tonga, see Urbanowicz 1973 and 1975a.

2. Kingdom of Tonga 1970:35.

3. Alasdair Buchanan, 1973 and 1975.

4. The Tonga Chronicle ([TTC] April 3, 1975.

5. The date of 1958 is utilized as a "baseline," since a United Nations report analyzed the years 1958 to 1970 and pointed out that " . . . of all the items entering into world trade . . . world receipts from international tourism have experienced the fastest growth," approximately 10 percent annually (United Nations 1973: pages 1 and 3). For several years, Tongan growth has exceeded this figure. [433]

6. TTC, August 22, 1974.

7. Derek Freeman 1970:51.

8. See Rene Dubos 1968 [1969]:11 and George Gaylord Simpson [1971]:201.

9. Jacob Bronowski 1973:344.

10. For critical comments, see the extreme view presented by Jacques Decornoy in *The Guardian* of November 2, 1974 (translated from *Le Monde);* for specifics about the economic impact of tourism on Tonga, see Urbanowicz 1977.

11. TTC, November 21, 1974.

12. TTC, November 2, 1972.

A truly balanced design for the future must 179
combine the tourist interests with the other interests,
both economic and cultural, in Tongan life.

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with 179
Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in 648
Anthropology from California State University, Chico, 457
by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered informa- 178
tion on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the
period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted 127
to him for some recent discussions.

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20. TTC, March 27, 1975.

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, 178
but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans 457
begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will 273
indeed have some problems, for this will be an indica- 674
tion that the basic fabric of their culture and society 276
has shifted."

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

457 Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers
177 get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the
Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

457 Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating
aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a
177 "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to pro-
535 vide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

457 It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to
consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active
178 preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by
integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the
735 Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg
548 from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexual-
838 ity appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the
435 crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk
through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

457 The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise
ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions
434 around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into
527 circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking
may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunken-
273 ness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their
traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals
276 begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian
178 ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society
457 has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own
273

hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect 457
the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, 273
theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, 674
there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have 457
almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money 179
seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help, but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to
the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must [311)
be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply, giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer
"bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of [527)
Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly 457
stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism 177
development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will 178
they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a 179
people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

457 as a result of non-Tongan influences; they must also study the effects of
177 tourism elsewhere in the Pacific islands. From these two sources, they
178 should design for the future. The 1970-75 development plan stated that
179 tourism if properly controlled could make a positive contribution to the
economy. Possibly the wording of a new development plan should read
that tourism *must be* properly controlled if it is to make a positive
contribution to the economy, the Tongan hosts, and the non-Tongan
guests.

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169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. 175
However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is 285
understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies [513]
—the main occasions of ceremonial giving. [292]
[765]

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called [431]
mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for 127
workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439). 285

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black
pattern' (plate 2*a*).[A] It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.)
decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished
if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain [565]
matāpule (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies
such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated
with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded
diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would
hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The
only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery,
Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need
not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*),[A] is probably one
of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought
of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau*
or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been [314]
partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture
is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau*
were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as
wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers
example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs
sewn on with twisted *'olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much
more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and
Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that
these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has
small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer.
This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in
Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture
of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth
century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more [178]
easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork
technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of
fau. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, [439]
fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This
suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was
nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a
foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men [175]
as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his [531]

[A] [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3*a*).[9] A

127 The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
127 Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not
292 buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445) was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
175 Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
554 Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3*b*) A is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
533 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643 Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē — And raise our hearts on this day
[539] Tu'u ai e palā tavake — Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A, [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
252 of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of breadfruit
with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make breadfruit
paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
[175] voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
[643] (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
[178] ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
535 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate *6a*)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
[178] dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
[181] contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
[593] sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement
[554] of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
127 totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our understanding
121 of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of
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A. [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

EARLY 19th CENTURY MISSIONARIES IN TONGA

ABORIGINAL TONGA

Research on Polynesian ethnography, and more specifically, "things 642
Tongan" since 1969, leads me to conclude that traditional Tongan society 181
was based on kinship, and politics in Tonga was literally "kinship writ
large". As Tongan society increased in size the number of leaders in 178
society increased. Aboriginal Tongan society was divided into various
ha'a 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups,' and 613
every single Tongan was able to trace his or her *ha'a* affiliation for various
obligatory reasons in the life cycle (such as marriages, funerals, and wars).

When a Tongan chief dispatched an individual to look after a specific 602
area of land, the individual sent was a kinsman. Consider the following
from a Wesleyan missionary who resided in Tonga for over 25 years, from 613
1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859: 631

> It may be noticed that all the principal offices of the government, were filled by members of the Hau Family as *Governors* of Islands at a distance as well as those near at hand, *Chiefs* of *Districts*, and heads of Towns and villages, they were the relations and the professed friends of the King, whom they appeared to wish to live to serve, and to know.(8)

Another Wesleyan missionary, Peter Turner, provides corroborating evidence in a journal entry: "The King has sent his eldest son to be the head ruler here [at Vava'u] and may be called a king under him."(9)

The Tongan system of apportioning out relatives, with appropriate titles, to rule over certain portions of land unified the "mud and blood" of the *ha'a*.(10)

The first leader of all of the Tongans was the Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of 643
Tonga'. The Tu'i Tonga, as lineal descendant of the gods, was the embodiment
of the sacred and secular in aboriginal Tongan life and the leader
of all Tongans. In approximately the 15th century, a division was made 175
between the sacred and secular operations of organising society, and a
Tu'i Tonga delegated his secular responsibilities to a brother and the title 643
of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was created. A manuscript account related how the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua: ". . . appointed Maugamotu Tui Haatakalaua, and he was able to reside at Fonuamotu as he was to be protector of the Tuitongas (as the Tuitongas were apt to be assassinated), and the Tuitonga was safe because his younger brother kept guard over him."(11)

In approximately the 17th century a Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua delegated some of his secular authority and responsibility to a son, and the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was created. The individual known as Ngata became
the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and he received "royal estates at the West end
of Tonga [tapu] called Hihifo."(12) When Anderson, who was with Cook 634
in 1777, visited Tongatapu he wrote of the fact that Tongatapu Island was 175
"divided into many districts" and one of these was "Hee'heefo".(13) When 643

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8. Thomas n.d. MS:5.
9. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Aug. 24, 1851.
10. Silverman 1971:72.
11. Collocott n.d. vol. II:21.
12. Thomas n.d. MS.:1.
13. Beaglehole 1967:951.

up in the minds of some of the chiefs who were previously indifferent, 797
obstacles to the diffusion of the truth present themselves on every hand but I know they may be and will eventually be surmounted."(44)

Dissension existed among the Tongans themselves, as Watkin's following statement makes clear:

> The heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans] not-withstanding their unanimity in opposing Xz [Christianity] are far from being at one in other respects [and] they are living on bad terms with each other and live as the hostilities were on the point of commencing. All Tonga with the exception of this place are building strong holds, sharpening their spears, and fabricating clubs with which to take away each others lives.(45)

Wars eventually occurred and Taufa'ahau consolidated his position. 797
Installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, he finally unified the various island groups of Tonga under his personal leadership after final battles in 1852. 643

The Wesleyans managed to convert an earlier Tu'i Kanokupolu, Jiosaia [669]
Tupou, in 1830, but it was Taufa'ahau's eventual acceptance of Wesleyanism that really made the difference for the missionaries. With Taufa'ahau's rise to power, there came a concomitant decline in the power of the Tu'i 643
Tonga and related titles. After the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865, Taufa'ahau absorbed his title. In a speech to the Tongan parliament in 1875, he stated that at a meeting in Vava'u he had been conferred with the titles of "Tu'itonga and Tu'iha'atakalaua together with the titles of Tu'ikanokupolu".(46) Consensus and flexibility were done away with in 1875, and [642]
Tongan society was restructured. [178]

Taufa'ahau was made Tu'i Kanokupolu at a meeting of the assembled chiefs of Tonga in 1845. Thomas wrote of the occasion:

> There is now talk about George being made Tuikanokubolu. I have been waited upon by some who have to do with it. I do not think there is any other person so suitable — also I think it is *good* that George should have the office. Some persons it is said have wished for someone else, but no notion will be taken of them or what they talk about among themselves. My pray[er] to God is, that he would undertake for us, and give to Tonga a righteous governor.(47)

Jiosaia Tupou, the previous Tu'i Kanokupolu, had been pro-missionary but decidedly not as powerful as Taufa'ahau. Jiosaia Tupou had been made Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1827.(48) Although Jiosaia Tupou gave up the 643
Wesleyan religion in 1827, he eventually re-converted and was baptised by the Wesleyan missionary Nathaniel Turner in 1830.(49) This baptism 797
was not viewed favourably by some of the non-Wesleyan Tongans, and the missionary Cross wrote in 1830: "A report is in circulation that the chiefs who are opposed to Christianity are determined to depose our chief [Jiosaia] Tubou and to choose one from among themselves in his place.

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44. Watkins n.d.: entry for Apr. 11, 1835.
45. Watkins n.d.: entry for Apr. 11, 1835.
46. Hunter 1963:4.
47. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 4, 1845; emphasis original.
48. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 1, 1827.
49. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Jan. 10, 1830.

accounts. As Thomas wrote in September of 1826:

> Early this morning a canoe arrived here from the Hapies [or Ha'apai] 669 (to the Inache ['*inasi*]) which brought intelligence that they were at [114] war at the Hapie Islands. The King [Taufa'ahau] of the Hapies and the Tui of Tonga (as he is called) have fallen out. However we expect it to be of short continuance to Tooi or King of Hapie is likely to be the worst of it, as the other islands are all against him.(57)

By the end of October the battle still raged in the Ha'apai Islands, and Hutchinson wrote back to England: "The war at the Hapies continues to rage. If the King of Tonga [Laufilitonga] should be overcome, we shall soon be in serious circumstances; and something of this is expected, as the people have received orders to prepare for war".(58)

Taufa'ahau was eventually victorious, and his star in the Tongan [643] firmament began to rise.

THE WESLEYANS AND ACCELERATED CHANGES

Although it may not have been deliberate missionary policy, the 797 Wesleyan approach was literally that of "divide-and-conquer" as they turned Tongan against Tongan. The three religious wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852 were ferocious. Of the 1840 war, Thomas wrote that he told the 669 Tu'i Kanokupolu Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens [or non-Wesleyan 798 Tongans] had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war".(59) The Wesleyan missionary P. Turner, commenting on one battle, stated: "The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns.(60)

Tongan society was altered from within and from without: from within 177 by Tongans who were desirous of change, and from without by Europeans who were advising and encouraging the Tongans to change. This internal 178 and external restructuring process, however, must be viewed as a complementary one. Without the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries Tongan 797 society would never have developed as it did.

The Wesleyans were aided in their restructuring process by the occasional appearance of vessels of the British Navy in Tongan waters. On visits from 797 passing British vessels Thomas wrote: "From what I have heard by the 648 natives in reference to the visit of His Majesty's Ship of War at Vavow, the effect will be very beneficial and lasting. The [Tongan] King and his people seem to think that religion is of more importance now than they were willing to believe."(61)

The Wesleyans also tried to get various ships to "remove" some of the 797 beachcombers in the archipelago. The British vessel H.M.S. *Seringapatam* arrived at the islands in 1830, and the captain removed some Frenchmen 648 who were "troublemakers".(62) 563

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57. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Sept. 25, 1826.
58. Hutchinson 1826.
59. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Aug. 4, 1840.
60. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for July 19, 1840.
61. Thomas 1830.
62. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for June 10, 1830.

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[ca. 900-1470]

172 is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these
174 structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures
are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the
172 help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated
174 above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-
643 scheme of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne
the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the
174 year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average
643 reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions
39 successive rulers,[1] may have come to power in the 10th century.[2]

The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu,
[173] is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth
(Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building
[349] of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of
three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants,
the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king
about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of
173 colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott
174 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison
648 with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck,
p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after
the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafekai, who must have ruled
174 about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have
643 important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother
● 178 hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the
sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that
the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).[3]
His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family),
bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

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(114) [1] We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

(114) [2] Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanokupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 11.

[3] Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

[ca. 1470 – 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. According to tradition the 174
reason for this change in the system of government was the violent 643
deaths of several *Tui Tonga*. In this way the ruler hoped from now on 178
to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; [173]
Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the
Tui Tonga himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungatonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau*. Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott
1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming [175]
of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

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It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kanokupolu* as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui*. From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of
view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford [114]
places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga*. Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

Out of 111 babies examined in one 744
day recently only two had signs of 743
scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished. 855
A main concern is to persuade Tongan [164]
mothers to keep up breast feeding and
to teach them how to prepare supplementary [853]
foods for the weaning [262]
process; it is conjectured that the decrease [178]
in the mother's diet of healthy
native foods in favour of inferior imported
food, such as white bread, has
weakened lactation.

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable 771
service in Tonga and still remains the
pivot of village life.

With the inspiring leadership of the 181
Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation.

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

829 /17 cont./
177
181
(184)

the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

[178] The "assured imperturbability" (2)

[113] 2. G. Forster in: Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Sudmeer /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3)

[113] 3. For example, Annales de la Propagation de la foi /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

177 /18 cont./
181 European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra
186 production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the
[563] equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans'
[565] self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these
natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

[644] 7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince
[645] and Prime Minister Tungi should also be
[178] understood in this sense; along with all
[291] the intensive Europeanizing plans for his
country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan *vala* (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the *ta'o-vala* (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the *vala* like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

177 Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a
181 certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open
178 to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright
rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition. /19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed, a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so
[276] on, but the *kawa* drink is still in the center of all social gatherings
and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

181 The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/20 cont./

181 [522] sexual explicitness. (14)

[831] 14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177.

Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

181 /21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

576 15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

178 on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like
184 Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about
[369] 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here
[887] one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European
[179] passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among
181 the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the
576 influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the
179 last war, (16)
685

[673] 16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

181 However, such property offences have by no means become widespread
685 even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

[485] 18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
[825] wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

181 The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality
178 toward human beings, (27)

> 27. For example, Martin, loc, cit. I, pp. 84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

[797]

> 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong missionary influence and the corresponding government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural
people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their
forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to
be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who
[484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
[502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
[226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
[648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
[701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as
well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the
last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons)
prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has
preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and
colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan
[823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
[241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on
neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied
islands of the Archipelago. (29)

/24 cont./

181
[133] 29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is
the only Tongan island with running water
and lies close to Tongatapu has had an
astonishingly sparse population until recent
[484] times. In part the reason is said to be the
often difficult crossing between Tongatapu
and "eua because of the frequent strong surf,
people shrink from such discomforts.

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

181 and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives
476 of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it.
461 In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the
571 women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men
carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single
undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building),
and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they
discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the
past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to
life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.
181 In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious
178 impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual
177 settlements united into villages, (31)
361

31. The village settlement in Tonga and with
it the separation of place of residence and
plantation goes back to the civil wars and
the influence of missions. See chapter on
settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on
their chiefs greatly diminished.

181 The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called
461 lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings,
by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European
standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

181 461 [171] /26 cont./

35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

181 461 177 178 Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various observers partly as industrious, (36)

36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte... /History/. loc, cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.

partly as inactive and lazy (37)

[113] 37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit. XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a private journal" /cited in English/ in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. vol. III. London 1834. p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of dute." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/26 cont./

> 181 trained Tongans, he pointed out that he was
> 461 not capable of developing the enterprise
> 177 further through independent, sober, regular
> 178 work like a European, that a decline would
> have to be reckoned with and that he would
> request that a European be retained for
> this position.

181 However, there has been a change insofar as a new type of work involving
461 all kinds of effort, namely copra production, has spread in Tonga to the
245 smallest inhabited island, and along with it has come the thinking in
178 terms of money which has given a certain impetus to increased work in
order that the desired goods could be bought and the customary, often
large church contributions, as well as the taxes could be paid. However, the copra work has not been a strong enough influence to upset the Tongan rhythm of life and work. This fact must, in the first place, be traced back to the imperturbable, stoic nature of the Tongans. (39)

> 39. Even today many coconuts on the Tongan plantations rot because the owners do not happen to "feel like" gathering them.

Secondly, the number of coconut palms on every plantation is naturally limited, so that the respective copra production cannot exceed a certain optimum (which is, however, almost never reached). Furthermore, as has been mentioned, the actual, natural needs of these islanders are small.

181 /27/ A few Tongans working for Europeans have, however, become ac-
461 customed to a different pace of work which is marked by certain haste
177 and restlessness. (40)

> 40. For example, the author noticed one Tongan who for some time drove a bulldozer for the Americans on the Tongatapu airport; another who, as house painter (partly for piece-work wages) and auto mechanic, earns a considerable amount and, with an old truck, established an "independent trucking business."

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are
fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through
teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan
with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
351 178 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)
are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single
barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)
[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanliness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted
flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)
181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 [356] their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate conditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be
regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

[113] 41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/. London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes, loc. cit. p. 13.

42. Only a few villages have a (usually uncared-for) stockade-style fence (coconut palm trunks) to set off plantings.

[113] 43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemishpere Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/ vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is im-
pressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
177
537 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
181
153 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
185 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
receive this education. (50)

[565]
[178] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners

181 /29 cont./

153
185
[565]
[178]

undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

181
177

Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga" /cited in English/., B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60. Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc, cit, II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

[285] 57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153] These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

/33 cont./

156 organized a small group of Tongans who raise pigs and sell them, and
157 with the proceeds make it possible for young Nomukans to attend
177 college on Tongatapu; he himself makes certain financial sacrifices
to help the Tongans studying in New Zealand. To our way of thinking he may be regarded as an idealist. To the observer, M. seems a representative of the good young Tongan intelligentsia. If Tonga became more European this type, though encumbered, could have an ageeable influence on the development of the small kingdom.

It is difficult to say whether such extreme types will some day become general types, whether such a fundamental change of Tongan nature will slowly be brought about. It also depends largely on further general development of Tonga; for example, to what extent the government's plans for an intensive Europeanization are realized (for example, light industry [such as fish canning factories] for the overpopulated Ha'apai group).

181 /34/ From the foregoing it will be seen that the character of the
177 Tongan today is quite similar to that of his forefathers (except for
178 the extreme types), even though it has undergone certain limited
changes in the course of European influence. This native has remained essentially unchanged because European influence on the islands has not been strong enough to be able to undermine the Tongan's nature, his basic disposition so firmly rooted in him, the chief characteristic of which is a self-assured equanimity which can scarcely be shaken.

177 And this characteristic will probably also limit the future development in Tonga, and be a safeguard against a precipitous, intensive Europeanazation. For, until now, almost every European style action of an offical nature undertaken in Tonga has been slowed down, impeded or revoked.

/41 cont./

346 The construction of some schools and especially of many dwellings
342 built in the European "shanty style" also leave much to be desired
362 from a health standpoint (for example, uninsulated corrugated iron
roofs), there having been as yet no effective remedy.

757 The Tongans are largely indifferent to the health service. In most cases of illness they first try self-healing with ancient Tongan herb medicines and massage, sometimes with a small admixture of magic, and if this does not help and the case seems very serious, they go to the doctor. At the same time, there are a few /42/ natives who run to the doctor with a headache or a slight stomach upset, as well as a few who do without any kind of medical help. (92)

92. On Nomuka the author saw a woman who, after eating a poisoned shark liver, was very ill and, despite grave danger, did not wish to see the assistant doctor who lived only 300 meters away.

[743] In places where an auxiliary hospital or "dispensary" /cited in English/
is situated close by, the Tongans are beginning to come in with
minor cases (coughs, constipation, diarrhea, cuts, boils). The Tongan
757 physicians regard the present situation as being a considerable
177 improvement over the condition 40 years ago. A certain change has
surely taken place in the last decades. Thus the old Tongan healing
[656] art (93)

93. Various elements of the Tongan healing art were borrowed from the natives of the Fiji Islands (for example, Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 242.)

which was not always fortunate, (94)

94. A series of spontaneous attempts at healing often took the place of a diagnosis.

was forbidden by a governmental law and was also virtually repressed
278 178 by the growing European-type health service. However, some of the

/42 cont./

278 178 old Tongan medicines and methods of treatment still hold their own more or less successfully in most families, and there are even Tongan [759] doctors who apply them when pills fail. Whereas a few of the simpler herbal medicines are familiar to many Tongans and can be easily prepared if necessary, most of the remedies are known only to certain "experts" (male as well as female) who have inherited their knowledge and whom people like to consult for advice and help.

757 As examples of surviving Tongan cures we mention the following treatments. (95)

95. From Sione Matoto on Nomuka, 1952.

Some of these have lost their ancient links with the belief in spirits and magic, (96)

[113] 96. Cf. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 240ff; E.E.V. Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga" /cited in English/ in Polynesian Sociological Journal, vol. XXXII, no. 3. 1923. pp. 136-142.

and are regarded simply as useful medicines, especially by younger and middle-aged natives.

1. Headache. Take six leaves of the tutu'uli and tear each leaf in half. Either the left or the right halves are used, depending on the side of the head that pains the patient. These halves, wrapped in a clean white piece of tapa are chewed and then squeezed out on the patient's eyes and nose so that the liquid runs into both eyes and nostrils. If the diagnosis has been correct, the patient will feel better in a few minutes.

2. Headache (recurring, but only at specific hours of the day). [826] The man (or woman) administering the treatment uses the sole of his or her left or right foot, corresponding to the aching side of the patient's head, and with it very gently touches the affected part. Then the head of the patient is massaged with uhi leaves (Evodia

/44 cont./

515 [132] equipment. In times of drought (often October to December) the supply of rain water is sometimes so scarce that people temporarily forego the daily thorough bathing.

515 302 /45/ Although in the schools, in the subject of hygiene, there is general instruction in tooth brushing, and European toothbrushes are easily obtainable, only very few Tongans have so far used them. However, fingernails and toenails are cut quite short so that there is almost no rim and the nail surface is often circular. [412] Nails are mostly cut with the large bush knife. [178] Ancient Tongan cutting tools (shells, bamboo) are no longer used. 302 For shaving, the two shells, the pumice and the shark's tooth (100)

177 [113]

> 100. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage a la recherche de La Perouse /Account of the voyage in search of La Perouse/ vol. II. Paris 1800. p/120; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien /Australia/. loc. cit. vol. I, part 2. p. 640; J. Martin, An account... /cited in English/. loc. cit. II. p. 282.

have long since been replaced by razor blades which can be bought on most of the islands. However, not all Tongans own a safety razor. Many shave simply with the blade held in their hand, which is more a scraping than a cutting, and is reminiscent of the pumice stone. Even in the smallest village a great many natives are generally neatly shaved, some have a stubble varying in length (101)

> 101. On Sundays, however, even the latter are almost always smoothly shaved.

302 565 and a few wear more or less well cared-for full beards. This state of affairs seems in general to resemble the pre-European era, though the commoners in olden times probably groomed themselves less carefully than the nobles. (102)

302 177 113

> 102. Cf. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. I p. 92; if the

/47 cont./

302 107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common
[184] people in their hair style.

[177] People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe)(109)

[178] 109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

[113] 110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged
[177] native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, occasionally also European pomade.

302
178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

[113] 111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

/47 cont./

302 178 can no longer be observed.

302 177 Just as some younger Tongan males have copied certain fashionable haircuts from whites (trimmed short all around, sideburns, etc.), the variety of hair styles of Tongan women must also be regarded as copies of European models which the women come across in magazines and newspapers on the small islands and see in the movies and on some white women on Tongatapu and Vava'u. As a result of the "liberation"
[565] of the commoners, long hair /48/ is not any more the prerogative of the daughters of chiefs, (113) and short hair is no longer seen. (114)

302 Tongan women wear a knot at the back of the head, topknots, braids (two to four), braided knots, rolls or semi-long hair (a mop of curly hair). The younger women "try out" all kinds of hair styles and enjoy changing them (for instance, in the course of a conversation they will tie up their loosely hanging hair into a top knot), whereas older women prefer the plain knot at the back of the head. Today
[177] most people comb their hair with a European colored plastic comb which they sometimes also fasten into their hair as an ornament. The
[412] old combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fibers have not been made for a long time, and even the carved wooden combs that were made until recently on the Niuas, have been almost entirely replaced by the cheap and colorful synthetic products. The
[177] coiffures are mostly knotted and held in place by themselves; occasionally, European hairpins are also used. No Tongan woman nowadays uses coral lime for her hair; almost all of them prefer the

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113. Cf. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 129.

114. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... /Picturesque voyage/. loc. cit. II. p. 79.

/48 cont./

302 Tongan oil for dressing their hair.

Small girls sometimes wear a very short haircut like boys, so that they are often scarcely distinguishable from them; more often, however, their hair is left to grow long and is then cut so that it does not reach below the shoulders. The latter style is probably in contrast to ancient Tongan customs.

302 178 Summarizing, one may say that the modern hair style of Tongan men, and especially of Tongan women, shows an outright, joyful imitation of the new, along with a rather lighthearted renunciation of the old.

c) Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing and Circumcision

Clothing

291 [177] European textiles and articles of clothing have been, and still are, an important influence in Tonga.

291 554 In former times, the men were either "almost entirely naked," (115)

115. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; V. p. 138.

that is, because of their inferior status or for their work they wore only a loincloth of tapa (116)

[287] 116. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; the tapa was and is made of the bast layer on the inner side of the bark of *Broussonetia papyrifera*. For details see p. 216 ff.

or a leaf apron; (117)

117. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; S. S Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands.../cited in English/. loc, cit. p. 144.

or, if they were privileged persons or were taking part in a festival, /49/ they wrapped themselves in a *vala*, that is, a rectangular piece of tapa slung about one and half times around the hips. (118)

/50 cont./

292 [565] Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a
● (178) matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono, for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward authorities, (125) and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over
292 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia
177 and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners
292 wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have
184 even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use
565 them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

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(113) 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

[434) 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/53 cont./

291 177 The Tongan women who once wrapped their tapa vala around their
waists directly below the breasts and let it hang down to their
ankles, (132)
and in addition wore a narrow mat around their waists, (133)
have, in the course of missionization, become accustomed to clothing
[178] the upper part of their bodies. However, the voluminous, sacklike
mission garments still customary in 1910, often with lace trimmings at
neck and sleeves, and with a vala cloth that was slung over or under
this and reached almost to the ground, have today changed to the extent
that they are shorter and more fitted. Most Tongan women have already
become accustomed to European underwear (including brassieres). Mail-
[294] order catalogs from firms in Australia or New Zealand, magazines,
newspapers, films and the few white women themselves--besides the shops
in the seaports--give the female natives of the entire Archipelago
enough incentive always to sew their own "modern" creations. Some
young Tongan women no longer wear the vala, /54/ justifying this,
not always honestly, by saying that it is "too warm" for them; they
prefer clothes that in shape, length and decollete are very close to
291 European models. As in hair styles, feminine vanity and the imitative
177 impulse quickly forget the old and the traditional. Yet the vala (134)
178 is still part of the dress of the majority of Tongan women (that is,
all older women and the majority of younger ones). (135)

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[565] (184) 132. Apparently nobles as well as commoners; the former probably with a tapa piece of larger dimensions.

133. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326/327; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 347.

134. Either underneath of on top of the dress, as preferred.

135. On a workday, for example, in 'Uiha/'Uiha (a typical village of the Ha'apai group), of the 63 women counted, 54 of them (30

/54 cont./

291 older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a
177 vala, whereas nine (one older and eight
178 younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

291 In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan
177 woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old
292 girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small
[515] islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked
[184] torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through
[831] torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full
291 covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her
296 clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports,
292 and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty
(184) immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

[824] 136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt
[294] plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design,
(176) and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] (294) 137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] (294) 138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177] islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

(292 [824] [294] plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[794] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

294 /55 cont./

296

178 142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they
296 achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with
[184] tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for.

291
177 The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

[114] 143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
[296] even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
[177] "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public
no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the
upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as
in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the
Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the
belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

[535] 146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/56 cont./

291 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural
177 assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been
178 blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans
adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical
(washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed
patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never
seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of
Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration,
[296] for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping
[432] them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be
[287] laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such
an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief
city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa
mallet almost every workday.

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special Europeanization measures.

Adornment

301 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today
178 the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth
[237] of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-
[824] Euopean and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

/57 cont./

301 hollow bird bones and shark's teeth, as well as chest ornaments of
178 mother-of-pearl shells, upper-arm circlets of the same material and
237 bracelets of tortoise shell; in pierced earlobes bits of tortoise
824 shell, small rods of bone or reed were worn. (147)

[113] 147. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 327; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe /Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/ ...Histoire de Voyage /Story of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1832. p. 285; while Cook says that this adornment is worn by both sexes, Forster allots it to the men and the rest of the ornaments to the women.

Almost all this belongs to the distant past, and of course one no longer sees the chieftain's headdress made of tail feathers of the tropic bird and of red parrot feathers, (148)

148. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 186.

nor the exquisitely plaited coconut fiber belts decorated with red feathers, (149)

149. An old dance dress of Tongan women (G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 337- 342.

and women's side combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fiber. (150)

150. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

301 The old sources do not indicate how this adornment was distributed
565 among the various classes. However, it may surely be assumed that at
237 least the mother-of-pearl chest ornament was worn by the privileged
noble, (151)

[113] 151. Cf. M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de la Perouse autour du monde /Voyage of the Perouse around the world/. vol. I. Paris 1797. p. 301.

who was also the only one privileged to wear the neck ornament carved out of whale's teeth (152)

301 /57 cont./

565
237
(113)

152. Cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 311 ff; H. Plischke, "Ein Brustschmuck von Tongatabu und die Verarbeitung von Walknochen in Polynesien" /A chest ornament from Tonga-tabu and how whalebone is worked in Polynesia/ in Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Fachgruppe II, Mittelalter /?/ und Neue Geschichte. New series. vol. II no. 7. 1939. p. 137.

and the large feather-headdress. (153)

153. Compare J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

301 The causes for the disappearance of this ornament are probably to
177 be sought in the general deterioration of the old crafts which in
● 178 Tonga (as on the other islands /58/ of Polynesia) began with the
797 import of European goods and tools, as well as in the attitude of the puritanical missionaries who were surely not favorably disposed toward adornment.

301 Nowadays Tongans prefer perishable plant adornment. The neck-
824 laces (kakala) of blossoms, leaves and seed capsules familiar since
(178) ancient times and already mentioned by Cook, (154)

154. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 281.

Ellis, (155)

155. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 94.

and Dumont d'Urville, (156)

156. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe.../Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/. loc. cit. IV. p. 285.

are worn by young men, girls (also women) and children on many occasions. (157)

157. For example, at festivals, cooperative work

/59 cont./

301 165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of
292 colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka,
535 ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of
824 white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves
(Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by
women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou
292 fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets
535 are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being
177 "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements
301 (for example, sleeves, decorations).

301 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners
184 in the realm of adornment.
565

In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that
301 the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and
177 was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant
178 adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound up with Tongan life.

/60/

Tattooing

304 In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which
[178] we may characterize as degeneration.
[182]

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

167. Cf. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

304 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of
531 which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is,
all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)

168 Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and sometimes on the legs, (169)

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

304 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was
[554] generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men
[626] would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women.
(463) Usually special experts carried out the process when the person
[413] reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the
[237] wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from
[386] Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick
and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into
the skin. (170)

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

304 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over
171 from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost
178 entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few
old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are
Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in
Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

/60 cont./

304 However, a large number of men and older women in Tonga wear tattoo
178 marks (*tatatau*) in the form of letters (block letters), namely their
initials, chiefly on the inside of their forearms. (171)

171. Their forearms are usually bare (short
or rolled-up sleeves).

[532] In addition, one sees a few men who have pictorial tattoos, such as
birds, (dove, the Tongan heraldic animal), lions or two crossed flags.
These are generally worn on top of the forearm or on the chest.

Thus we find an essential change in Tongan tattooing: the old
ornaments have been lost and in their place /61/ have appeared the
prosaic, though in Tonga greatly esteemed letters, as well as a few
European symbols. And tattooing shifted from the parts of the body
generally clothed (hidden tattoos) chiefly to the unclothed forearms (visible tattoos).

Usually the operation is undertaken at the age of 16, which
probably corresponds to the age for ancient Tongan tattooing. In
[177] place of the old comblike bone instuments the Tongans now use
European (sewing) needles (*hui*),,thorns of orange twigs (*tala 'i moli*)
and needles of the *kakatisi* tree (*tala 'i kakatisi*), sometimes also
[386] shark's teeth. As in former times, they take the soot of burned
Aleurites or, since it is more convenient, the soot on iron cooking
pots, mix it with water, apply this black liquid to the skin part to
be tattooed (on the design), puncture the skin with the needle
through the color solution and then wipe off the soot water--along with
the blood--from the surface of the skin. After a few days the punctured skin becomes blackish and the tattoo is fully visible. Occasionally they now also use red ink instead of the soot water. The length
of time required depends on the energy of the person being tattooed
and his ability to withstand pain; about an hour is the average. In
[463] general, any Tongan can perform this type of tattooing, but there are

/61 cont./

304 178 463 some natives who are especially experienced and expert. The present non-specialization is one reason why tattoos usually lack all refinement and appear clumsy.

304 178 Even these simple tattoos seem to be becoming gradually fewer, though many young men and some girls still have them done. A person who has himself tattooed does it because he regards it as "beautiful," as an adornment; moreover, the undertaking satisfies the need of many young Tongan men to appear strong and brave. However, tattoos are no longer an indispensable attribute of manliness; no one holds a non-tattooed person in contempt. Many an older Tongan regards his tattoos as a curiosity from the past and advises his children against "disfiguring" their bodies. In fact, it is not certain whether today's method of tattooing is a degenerate remnant of ancient Tongan tattooing art, or whether the latter died out some 100 years ago and the "modern procedure" was then borrowed--perhaps from European seamen. However, the term tatatau is the same today as it was in ancient Tonga. (172)

172. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 265.

/62/

Circumcision

304 The ancient Tonga custom of circumcision (173)

173. Compare J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 264/265.

(kakau or tefe) has persisted undiminished to this day. All male Tongans, probably without exception, are circumcised. The custom [177] is so deeply rooted in the people that centuries of European influence have led to no decrease, and an adult Tongan, indeed, even a boy of 13 or 14, would be ashamed if he were not circumcised; in any case, he would be talked about in the village.

Commonly, boys between the ages of six and twelve (most often nine or ten) submit to circumcision. Their parents make the appointment with the person undertaking it who usually circucises several

/6 cont./

304 boys at a time. Thus, for example, in 1951 on Nomuka, B.S. Matata reported that in a good half hour he treated 22 boys. Most circumcisions nowadays are undertaken in December, since many uncircumcised pupils then being promoted in the village schools want to begin the new school year in "proper" condition. Though [463] [178] [743] there are still a few aged, experienced Tongans who perform these operations, to an increasing extent since around 1920, boys have gone to hospitals or to the small stations of "medical practitioners" and "dispensers" /cited in English/; today--even on the small islands--this already seems to be the normal procedure.

Two methods are therefore customary at present. According to the technique used by aged Tongans, a small piece of hard wood (pahihi) is pushed under the foreskin, then, with a piece of broken glass (from a bottle) or with a razor blade (substitute for bamboo knife and shell) (174) an incision is made in the foreskin and the two halves are lifted to the sides; they become necrotic or are cut off with scissors. The juice of pounded leaves (ate?) are dripped into the resulting wound the wound is covered with other leaves, the penis is bandaged with white tapa (feta'aki) and tied upright with a feta'aki belt placed around the waist and drawn between the legs. According to the "Hebraic method" used in hospitals, the foreskin is drawn forward and cut off as far as possible, the remainder being incised. Treatment and care of the wound proceed in the usual European manner. In addition, there are various modified "private procedures." For example, the dispenser of Nomuka performs circumcision by drawing a knife under the foreskin.

174. Compare J. Martin, loc.cit. II. p. 264.

304 852 /63/ Nowadays, festivities in connection with circumcision scarcely take place. People regard the operation as a necessary and natural procedure to which one must submit, and attach no deeper

/63 cont./

304 852 meaning to it. (175)

> 175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have [178] become more matter-or-fact. (176)

> 176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 177 178 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)

> 177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 581 588 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

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565 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

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[175] The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

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[595]
[594] We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

> 190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[427] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[591] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
593 837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

/67 cont./

593 837 ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is
(178) understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives
and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men
are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something
587 resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners
586 dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus,
in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha,
there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular
divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife
"departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in
another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning,
178 and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married
586 life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to
587 Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of
these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and
quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times
during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

[562] Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost
entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change
in favor of the wife.

581 However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in
178 old times, (193)

586 177 193. Also compare the figures given above with reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/68 cont./

581
178 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)

586
177 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his
586 spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in
162 pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable
178 Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the
565 majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately
178 the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589)
(463) 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

(597) Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and
565 numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).

/68 cont./

592 181 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites. 592 462 As in old times, (198)

198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing, house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and the children, plaits mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor," p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet, harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often tender care of their children for granted. This family life (178) corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 861 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general, [867] however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 784 (178) An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head, to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him. This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example, often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

593 /69 cont./
784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their
parents.

593 The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes,
784 although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for
178 example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or
[513] twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-
style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while
the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the
[177] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom
[513] being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with
closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the
brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor
the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed;
[516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the
sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting,
near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her
brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets
up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly
crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together
[264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a
meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit
next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and
[521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always
had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered
from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means
about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad
words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also
not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes
occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/69 cont./

593 brother-sister taboo, seem to have occurred only during the past
784 decades, for the stricter rules are still clear in the memory of
178 all older people. The child-father taboo has been extensively
relaxed because the belief /70/ in the power of this taboo (sickness or death as punishment for non-observance) is to a considerable
extent lost on the "enlightened" present generation. A certain
[562] observance of the brother-sister taboo may be explained as an
exaggerated natural sexual avoidance among siblings, as well as
the brother's social recognition of the ordinarily higher rank of
his sister; for the restrictions mentioned are observed for reasons
of "good upbringing" and not because of fear of the punishing power
of a taboo.

593 Although the woman in Tonga society enjoys a highly respected
562 social position, the man in the family has full authority, even if
(178) his wife originally comes from a higher social rank than he. This
state of affairs is the same as in ancient Tonga. (201)

201. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 98, 179.

592 When the head of the family dies, the eldest son becomes the head
428 of the family. If he proves unqualified, the next older brother
(178) takes his place. This arrangement very probably existed even in
ancient Tonga.

842 Today, as in pre-European times, these natives are not familiar with birth control. Suggestions to the government by white officials for birth control fell on deaf ears. No one among the people seems to be interested in birth prevention. Children cause relatively little expense, for more eaters at daily meals will soon mean more helpers for work. Only a few members of the government foresee the threat of overpopulation of the islands in 30 or 50 years.

887 Old people living with younger married couples or independently

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed,
to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently
always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the
younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad
178 masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured
with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure
[777] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the
[595] missionaries who were the most important representatives of
[592] European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan
[585] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the
[423] church wedding, (203)

[642] 203. Including registration with public authorities.

and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the
new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization,
177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/
777 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance,
family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as
children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries,
created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even
[581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not
succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward
marriage. (204)

[837] 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/72 cont./

604 as they see fit, for a pig they have taken. Some Tongans will also
425 take something belonging to their uncle without asking him, and feel
that such acts are not stealing, since they will openly answer their
uncle's questions about his lost property.--The author met a Tongan
on 'Uiha who, as recently as 1937, took a house belonging to his
uncle. (209)

> 209. Many a tu'a-sina will also voluntarily give pleasure to his nephew with more important objects.

604 In a few families where there has been a rift this old custom is
425 naturally not acted upon, since the taker will have to reckon with
685 the fact that the "injured" one will react with a legal complaint
578 (if he dares do so within the village community). The extremely
604 wide range of this custom which even today, in spite of almost seven
425 decades of contrary European influence among all classes, still
177 prevails (though to some extent relaxed) shows how very much the
178 Tongans can cling to their ancient social order.

592 As in former times, the family in a wider sense still has an
554 eldest (ulu i he famili) who has a certain control over the entire
/73/ group of kin (in the paternal line) and acts authoritatively
on important occasions. For example, in case of a death he calls
together the individual related families and consults with them
about the nature and procedure of the funeral ceremony. This
"eldest is often the grandfather's (oldest) brother or the latter's
592 oldest son. Today, however, age does not seem to be the only
554 decisive factor in the succession, since middle-aged Tongans may
556 absolutely assume the position of "eldest" by reason of their
178 wealth in material goods and their greater influence resulting
from it. Even though, in former times as well--according to the
memory of various individuals--, Tongans achieved the position

/73 cont./

592 554 556 178 of "eldest" on account of their personal power, this development is today aided by the greater opportunities of acquiring property and wealth.

b) Love Life, Nuptials, Birth, Death

Love Life

836 The young native men who are of marriageable age but as yet unmarried enjoy considerable freedom in their association with unmarried Tongan women, which is publicly acknowledged insofar as those who are successful in love affairs are well thought of. An important restriction, however, is the fact that most parents would like their daughters to enter marriage as virgins, and they protect them in accordance with this--likewise publicly acknowledged--moral law. This contradiction has led these people who, despite puritanical mission work, remain sensual, to develop a system of pre-marital relationships in which very many young Tongan men achieve their goal and some girls take part. In general, pre-marital intercourse may be described as rather frequent--insofar as it is possible to assess these hidden acts. However, it is probably not as considerable as [178] it was before the time of the missions (that is to say, in ancient Tongan times). Intercourse takes place less out-of-doors (in the bush) than in houses (mostly at night). There is definite discrimination in this free love life. On Nomuka (population 567) there are, for example, only three Tongan women with whom any man may have intercourse. Many young men on the same island want certain girls who, however, do not yield, either as a matter of principle (less often) or because, in their secret thoughts, they have men of their choice who are not aware of this or do not wish to know. 839 Many a rejected young Tongan tries to attain his goal forcibly. In Tonga, rape /74/ is probably the most frequent offence, next to theft in

/74 cont./

839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

839
674
[178]

> 210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

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684
it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved 848 their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

[113]

> 211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

[842]
[833]
The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular

/74 cont./

848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient
Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)

836 214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

837 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small
548 islands. (215)

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in
the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

581 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man
or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 86). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).

/76 cont./

584 574 276 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is set, (220)

220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

584 [431] In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition, the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

584 574 604 ● [178] This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In [431] this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for [276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

/78 cont./

585 292 177 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 178 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/79 cont./

585 574 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
[554] the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
585 wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
574 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)
276 and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable,
third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present
as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
[604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
585 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
574 431 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed
among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immed-
iately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)
585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with
her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
[177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her
mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)
tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
[574] [276] [202] [178] bridegroom. The relatives (229)
of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the
night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage
to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

226. See page 144ff.

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

/79 cont./ The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is
585 examined and if it is /80/ stained with blood they fire a shot of joy
[202] with an old shotgun, or in some other way make known their pleasure that the bride's virginity has been proved. The sheet (or the sleep-tapa) is publicly displayed and then carried from the bridegroom's place to the place of the bride's mother. The contents of an immediately prepared earth oven, in addition to mats and tapa, are brought by the kinfolk of the young man to the family of the young wife--in recognition of the fact that her mother had carefully watched
[602] over her daughter. The young wife is kept on her sleeping place, is bathed by her relatives, combed and adorned, lovingly treated like a sick person and nursed with good food.--If the wished-for sign does not appear on the sheet, nothing happens the next morning. The young wife is then obliged to perform ordinary, everyday work, that is, rake leaves, cook, wash, etc. The villagers see this and know what has happened. (230)

230. A few Tongan maintain that for this reason "smart" girls who are no longer virgins arrange the date of their wedding (that is, the consummation of the marriage) to coincide with the days of their menstruation.

585 The last part of the wedding, however, is no longer common in
178 this form. Often the marriage is consummated the first night after the wedding, and many times the stained sheet is no longer displayed. Various Tongans who have some knowledge of European conditions reject this custom as being "low," barbaric.

A few couples have recently also imitated the European example
[177] of the honeymoon by traveling to a small island after the wedding celebration.

585 On the whole, a great deal of ancient Tongan tradition has been
177 preserved in the wedding procedure. Indeed, the tradition seems to
178 the observer to be the essential, decisive element to which the civil

/80 cont./

585 and ecclesiastical ceremonies were simply added, just as other
177 European characteristics (for example, the large canisters of
178 zwieback which today are so important) were adopted as a matter of
585 course, so that everything has undergone an amicable fusion. The
565 upper classes (231)

178 231. These very probably practiced all such customs even in olden times more extensively and conscientiously than did the broad masses.

--up to the royal house--cling more tenaciously than the commoners to
the old wedding customs (with respect to clothing as well as the
585 punctiliously preserved ceremony). Probably the lavish use of Tongan
565 apparel seen at many weddings of commoners is not to be interpreted as
292 tradition handed down from olden times, since the broad masses were
178 formerly obliged to work for the nobles; (232)

[422] 232. Compare J. Martin (loc. cit. II. p. 109) on the women of the lower classes in ancient Tonga: "...what they make is not their own property, but is done by order of their superiors." /cited in English/

rather, most of the people probably /81/ gradually came into possession of valuable mats and long lengths of tapa only after their "liberation," in respectful but purposive imitation of upper-class customs.

585 Today, among commoners, it may also come about that young couples
583 --with the silent approval of their parents--stage a "flight marriage,"
178 that is to say, run away and have a civil and church marriage. This
saves the parents the economic burden of the wedding celebration.
585 That, along with the rather frequent abolishing at the regular
178 marriage of the delayed consummation, (233)

[565] 233. According to E.W. Gifford (Tongan Society, p. 193), the marriage among commoners was in former times consummated during the first

/81 cont./

> 585 178 (565) night, so that today among commoners it could be only a matter of a recessive movement toward a more recent custom borrowed from nobles.

as also the partial abandonment of the custom of publicly demonstratint the /bride's/ virginity (in addition to a certain simplification of the Tongan wedding costume and the gradual disappearance of the wedding baskets) could be indications of advancing change, though the tenacious adherence to the rest of the ceremony and to the typical wedding dress shows that the "Tongan wedding" may hold its own for a long time to come.

Birth

657 743 844 (744) Though there is growing interest in the motorized infant welfare service (under the leadership of a white nurse) among the population on Tongatapu, and some mothers and mothers-to-be on Vava'u and Lifuka are seeking the advice of the hospitals there, the birth itself and infant care are still purely a family affair throughout the entire Archipelago. 743 844 Most of the Tongan women who go to the large hospital in Nuku'alofa/Tonatapu immediately when their first labor pains begin, come from this seaport itself. Otherwise, people generally do not consider the hospital unless there are complications, and the woman in labor reaches it-- often lying in an old truck--only after a great loss of blood.

844 As a rule, therefore, birth takes place in the traditional manner in the living (sleeping) house where a section is arranged for the mother-to-be and a small bed is prepared (234)

> 234. For example, a small mat and tapa with a soft covering, for instance raw tapa (feta'aki) or a small cloth mattress with kapok filling.

for the expected child. (759) When the labor pains of the pregnant woman announce the impending birth, she asks her husband to call the ma'uli (the Tongan midwife).

/81 cont./

844 ma'uli (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric
844
178 (kurkuma) (235) is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is, however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole approximately 3/4 to $1^{1}/2$ meters deep. In order to mark the spot, it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu, this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place where their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to another island, his return is awaited. According to the old
[604] custom, the father's sister (mehekitanga) names the child (chooses its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the mother of the child.

846
574 Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

[113] 235. Compare J. Wilson, Missions-Reise in das sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the South Pacific/, translated from English by D. Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 185.

/83 cont./

853
177 with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

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178 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get [744] enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

846 The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light [262] food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or (177) boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

854
177 Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby 856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

851 In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)

163 240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are
161 reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society.
(113) p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office,
Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in
English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past.
[744] Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for
this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical
help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of
the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the
population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga
[842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to
explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic
strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that
they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to
interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be
seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes
especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death.
This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the
765 deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers
302 and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
764 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the
765 body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore,
304 and the wounding of the head (246)
178

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of
765 a child (248)
782

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

177
643 and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the
794 priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)

531 252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of
[177] shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements
or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using
crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often
764 cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the
[794] rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have
[184] separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the
[565] resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The
graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of
concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated,
178 largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent
times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on
the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations.
(255)

764 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

[533] After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor
[779] reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is
lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls)
of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which
[533] includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung.
Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat
(fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
[602] days in the house of the deceased, (256)
765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except
in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
178
[565] however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 784 178 /89 cont./

257. Only the beating of tapa is generally
not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554] For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days
or more) is still observed.

765 On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female
[531] relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful
of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate
with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and
ki-kie lou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also
765 574 296 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten
days: (258)

258. According to statements of aged Tongan.
notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come,
kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased
distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and
sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave
to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather
for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close
relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also
at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a,
liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies,
(fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177] The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any
attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of
commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[178] [565] [574] [784] This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are
certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate

/89 cont./

765 565 574 784 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo. (260)

(114) 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 765 177 178 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences, some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European /tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken [565) place. Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

764 /90 cont./

765 used only for the upper classes (E.W.
177 Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201).

178 On the other hand, the relaxing of old customs (for example, the noise
[565] taboo and "pongi pongi") could indicate coming changes which might bring about a loss of important old traditions and provide no adequate substitute.

c) Names

551 For several decades Europeans in authority have made an effort
177 to introduce patrilineal family names in Tonga. Up to now, however, they have had little success. Even though, in colleges, for example, students are registered under their patrilineal family names, and public authorities are making a great effort to clarify matters, if only for tax purposes, nevertheless there is still great confusion in
551 eyes of Europeans who are fond of order. Few families have genuine surnames, and even these are not always handed down. In some cases people also change their names on various occasions in the course of their lives. In general nowadays, every Tongan probably has two names, one of which is often a Christian name; however, in most cases only one is used, so that a person's second name is known to only
[553] a few. As a rule, at her marriage, a woman is given one of the
[585] /91/ two names of her husband. In the further development of the newly founded family the following picture may emerge:

/93 cont./

368 there are three churches (party in Tongan style) in the settlement inhabited by only 200 natives.

[366) In addition, a village has a government school and often a Wesleyan school as well, one to four kautaha houses (meeting place of the women's cooperative for tapa- and mat-making) and one to four small (retail) shops.

361
351 Although most of the houses are situated on the roads that intersect the villages, their distribution seems irregular. The broad grassy areas (265)

[245) 265. These are often interspersed with mango and bread-fruit trees.

on which they are situated are (in accordance with the law) cut short by the natives, but are often untidy looking. Since most individual plots are not fenced in and the neatly plaited fences of plantations and houses praised by observers in old times have long since been forgotten the villages give an even more unkempt impression.

361
178
[491) These villages are a development of more recent times. In ancient Tonga the houses of commoners were scattered throughout the islands; people lived on their plantations, (266)

266. Ellis writes, for example: "The houses do not form towns or villages, but are built about five hundred yards or more from each other and generally in the midst of a plantation, the whole of which is frequently fenced in with a hedge of bamboo, or reeds with a door-way"; /cited in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic Narrative.../cited in English /. loc. cit. I. 1782 pp. 88/89.

and many roads made possible easy connection between the plantations. (267)

267. Reminiscent of this old way of settlement are the huts on individual plantations found even today on various islands, which are very

/93 cont./

> 361 remote from their corresponding villages.
> 178 Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, *A missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands
669 sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living
178 together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christiani-
[712] zation of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going
[777] much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem
to have been rather well kept. (269)

[113] 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque*... *loc. cit.* II. p. 78; the same, *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie*...*Histoire du Voyage* /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, *Ten years in South-Central Polynesia*... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which
177 very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully
182 and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various
Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external.
621 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans
186 seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a
chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for
it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the
old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish,
just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[476] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[177] [436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural
material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
621 432 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
554 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
177 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
436 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
632 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
[571] not happen to have prepared one for himself.

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic
congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives)
to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house
building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a
request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
(177) than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the
"apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this
solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old
customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
[477] merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for
them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work
project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming
a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For
instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha,
in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five
will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on.
During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the
next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 178 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems [285] [287] improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 527 574 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka have an important place among the few festivities that are observed in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show" [533] /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their [431] seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/97 cont./

476 guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who
527 did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she
574 [554] spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because
of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent
527 institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions
574 mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and
178 provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha,
182 they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at
621 the same time give large circles of the village community the much
(626) desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire
village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha
(203) invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above
all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations),
so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/
one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are
not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the
festival.

527 Other festivities (272)

574 272. Aside from the various "picnics"
794 /cited in English/ on the beach
or in the bush, organized by young
men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus,
every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga
take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons
following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest
kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a
(262) meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig,
(272) yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc
pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

527 /99 cont./

177 (621) return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players (533) go about in the same way.

(431) It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion 794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village. 177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the 182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover, (533) the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs (each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan churches has become important in the community life of many villages, for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the 574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the 182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the 621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

(797) Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives (178) in this custom, (274) it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and (171) perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

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273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

276 178 797 177 412 This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In those days, however, the kava roots were chewed; (275)

275. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 189/190.

the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago). (276)

276. See H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist... /cited in English/ p. 287.

276 177 415 The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277)

(178) 277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana leaves from distant plantations to the village.

which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a ta'o-vala with trousers). (278)

278. See page 69-71.

276 574 The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and socialize) (279)

(562) 279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/101 cont./

276 574 461 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 527 585 764 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

276 178 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in [177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it. [273] [272] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the [415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings 276 574 565 178 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

/102 cont./

000 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

621 Seen as a whole, the old, strong feeling of solidarity in the
178 Tongan community has been preserved. Even today we see, especially
in the villages of the small islands, the old mutuality which is
neither communist nor is it made up of families isolated from each
[574] other. Every Tongan can still join any group in the village having a
[425] meal and can eat with them, and in most of the settlements every
[476] inhabitant may ask any other for objects or for personal help, and no
one will generally refuse to fulfill his wish. European influences
[177] (such as money, the idea of property, different denominations) have up
to now--except in special cases--not led to the individualization of
families, which to us in Europe is so much taken for granted.

/103/

b) Social Stratification

565 The principal social classes in ancient Tonga were: the chiefs ('eiki), their personal attendants, counselors and helpers (matapule) and the commoners (tu'a).

[241] The commoners, that is, the mass of the people, were in most
[427] cases farmers who cultivated the chief's lands which they lent out
to them. Every _tu'a_ along with his family was completely dependent on
his chief. The _'eiki_ (whose title was hereditary) had absolute power,
often arbitrarily exercized over the life and property of the commoners. (286)

286. See J. Cook, _Beschreibung_...VI. pp. 294/295; W. Ellis, _An authentic narrative_... /cited in English/ p. 115; J. Martin, _loc. cit._ I. pp. 59/60; II. pp. 92, 300; E.W. Gifford, _Tongan Society_, p. 110.

565 The _matapule_ served the chiefs as a sort of minister. As a
554 rule, the title of the _matapule_ was handed down in the same family;
a _matapule_ served the chief with whose ancestor his own ancestor had
lived. The rank of the _matapule_ depended specifically on that of his

/103 cont./

565 chief. (287)

554

287. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 288; II. pp. 90/91; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 140.

565 182 Since the social order for all concerned (except for a few ambitious chiefs) was taken for granted, and even the "repressed" commoners "without rights" had sufficient economic means to be able to live rather comfortably, (288)

288. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 287.

the system functioned for many centuries, so that Cook was able to write: "In fact, I cannot think of any civilized people who show in all public affairs such a tendency towards order, such willingness to obey the commands of their chiefs or who, in all classes, are so harmoniously united, seemingly animated by one spirit, as are these islanders." (289)

289. J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 296.

565 177 797 The Christianization of the Archipelago brought changes in this social stratification. Naturally, the missionaries were obliged to insist on breaking the absolute power of the chiefs (which was, moreover, closely connected with the "superstitious" taboo ideas of the natives) and "freeing" the mass of the people from their "slavery." [671] [643] [642] The most important step in this direction was the Wesleyan missionary-inspired emancipation declaration of Tu'i Kanokupolu George I, on June 4, 1862. The constitutions of 1862 and 1875 and their effects on daily life gradually weakened the old order. The chiefs, who lost their old taboo-protection and their taboo-power in the now Christianized Archipelago, forfeited their principal authority when the commoners became independent tenant farmers (for life). /104/

565 178 Yet the old system was so ingrained in the minds of all Tongan and had penetrated daily life so intensively that it is only now, nine

/104 cont./

565 decades later, that the termination of the interdependence of nobles
178 and people is being worked out in practice to the fullest extent.

565 Whereas formerly the chiefs had total, almost godlike authority
178 in Tonga, today God and the church--and, only far behind the royal
794 house--are the supreme power for all Tonga. Among the people, their
(461) former work for chiefs has been replaced by work for the family and
(among the Wesleyan natives in particular) for the church. (290)

> 290. Many average Tongan families of the villages on the small islands today "contribute" approximately the sum of 30-50£T. a year (= circa 280-470 German marks) to their church; in addition there are the faka-afe (banquets) for the preachers. Besides, every Tongan devotes a considerable amount of time to the numerous church services.

178
565 The present-day tu'a pays only his (small) land rent (to the government)
(427) for his chief on whose territory his plantation lies; he seldom sends
(431) his chief natural produce--and generally only voluntarily--as a special gift. The commoners, through democratizing Christianity, gained greater self-assurance in relation to the upper classes, and this becomes all the stronger as they secure for themselves economic advantages through the copra trade and are able to acquire a certain amount of knowledge and culture in the schools. Intelligence and ability can make it possible for them to advance in various professions (government administration, teacher, clergyman, physician).

The chiefs, whose position of power has not suddenly, but very gradually, declined, look upon this development coolly and with a certain melancholy. Only the royal family and the 30 highest chiefs of the new class of nopele (nobles) (291)

> 291. Altogether there are now 33 nopele titles in Tonga, three of which are at present held by the crown prince and his brother.

created in the second half of the previous century by George I,

/104 cont./

178 565 receive special respect in public; these two groups are today the only big landowners in Tonga. (292)

> 292. Even a few matapule were at the time elevated to the ranks of nopele.

They are shown universal respect. (293)

[576]

> 293. For example, they are still greeted on the street by some approaching commoners with a raised right hand; at the very least, the one approaching will remove his cigarette from his lips, and girls and women will lower their umbrellas carried as a protection against the sun. These types of greeting were introduced in the second half of the last century in place of the earlier /custom of/ crouching beside the path when a noble passed by.

The nopele today either work on their plantations themselves or they lead the old life of chiefs and spend their days in conversation and kava drinking.

565 554 178 Among the rest of the chiefs only those are particularly respected by the public who, for reasons of state, have obtained an office (for example, "town officer," "district officer" /cited in English/). The nopele and the landless chiefs /105/ are today witnessing the emancipated young commoners eagerly attending schools. Knowledge and ability are threatening to endanger the privilege of birth. Besides, some commoners, as a result of today's high copra prices, are becoming wealthy through their coconut plantations and their business skill, and are acquiring a greater economic potential than many chiefs. With a principle of "equal rights for all" many a chief sees himself pushed to the periphery of practical life in the more hectic "modern" system.

565 554 178 276 574 It is only on official occasions, especially in the kava gathering, that rank and title still enjoy their old prestige. In the apparently imperishable kava circle the chief occupies the place

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294) gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala)to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)
784

(291)
(177)
295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

/105 cont./

565 The very limited possibilities commoners had in old times of
178 obtaining special offices (296)
463 have been very much expanded through the emancipation of the people.
(622) /106/ Commoners nowadays very often hold the post of "town officer"
/cited in English/, and the teachers, pastors and physicians, as well
as many officials and employees of the government in the administrative
centers of the Archipelago come from the ranks of commoners.

565 The old social stratification of the population of the Tonga
178 Islands has herewith undergone an essential change; the earlier,
621 extreme contrast between nobles and common people was considerably
moderated and new positions of authority were created which are
respected in the community and may be obtained not through the
(361) privilege of birth but through knowledge and ability. Formerly,
people lived scattered over the islands on their plantations, completely
dependent on their respective chiefs and matapule. Today,
(554) in the village community, the chief, often together with a few matapule,
(622) has a respected, but by no means overrated, position if he owns land
(634) or is a "town officer" (or "district officer") /cited in English/
receiving a salary from the state. As a landless chief without any
official function he and with him the matapule have actually been
reduced to a certain insignificance which, only on official occasions
(kava circles), gives way to a formal show of respect. More capable
(622) commoners, as "town officers," oversee many village communities in
which the actual chief leads a simple life which scarcely differs
000 from that of commoners. The clergymen who conduct the numerous church

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296. The commoners who were not farmers worked as cooks or sometimes practiced lowly trades such as tattooing, shaving and carving clubs (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92); however, some are said to have risen socially from the lowly ranks they were born into (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 112.

621
554 /106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church
178 services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given
[793] an important position in the village community. They may be followed
[875] in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young
[759] the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical practitioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But there is also many a Tongan who does not hold an office yet plays an influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers
[888] and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones.
621 Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops
554 in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods
441 in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that
178 is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the
[171] merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will be respected accordingly. (297)

[875] 297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality

/107 cont./

621
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178
of his customers, so that he is also respected specifically for his activity as merchant. The owner of another retail shop in the same village has not been able to achieve a privileged position in the community on the basis of his occupation.

621
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178
[177]
From the foregoing discussion it will be seen that in the present-day village community of Tonga there is no generally valid social ladder. An individual may obtain a respected position in various ways. The changes in the social structure brought about by European influences have not caused a collapse of the old system, but have introduced a slow, yet steady development which weakened the old order in the community and brought new values. This process is not [565] yet completed; very probably the importance of the nobles in Tonga will decline even more, and intelligent and able individuals among the population as a whole will, to an increasing extent, become the influential ones--provided the nobles occupying key positions in the government will not try to impede this development. The social change in Tonga did not bring about a disruption of the community, since it was merely a transition from an old order to an almost universally acknowledged new order; people are now offering their old obedience, and their old willingness to submit to new authorities, and the aristocracy, largely for religious reasons, may have become accustomed to the "God-ordained" new order.

C. The State

a) Government Development and Present Structure

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[177]
The Tonga state underwent considerable changes as a result of European influence, specifically the Christianization of the Archipelago.

[643]
[175]
In ancient Tonga the state was centrally directed by the all-

/109 cont./

642 of the people was established. At the same time the poll tax and the
[641] leases on land were determined. This form of government, however,
[646] did not seem at first to function like its European counterpart. The
[651] sessions of parliament were held very irregularly, with interruptions
[646] lasting for years.

642 On November 4, 1875 Tonga obtained its proper constitution
177 which was drawn up after the British model (constitutional monarchy). It consists of a declaration of rights (freedom of life, property, belief, etc.), the establishment of a government (sovereign, council of state, cabinet, legislative assembly and judiciary) and the regulation of landed property. Despite many subsequent improvements,
[178] this constitution forms the principal foundation of the Tonga state
[527] to this day, and November 4th is observed each year by everyone as a
[186] national holiday. At the same time the Kingdom of Tonga adopted its [official] seal and flag. This constitution was worked out for the Tongan ruler by British Wesleyan missionaries, especially Shirley Baker.

645 Shirley Baker soon became prime minister of Tonga. He held this
177 office from 1880 to 1890. That year the British High Commissioner deported him to New Zealand, for the English had felt for a long time that he was a disturbing element in the political development of the Southwest Pacific, because of his strongly independent manner of administration.

648 Under the influence of Shirley Baker a treaty was signed on
[645] November 1, 1876, between the Tongan government and the German Empire. In the accord the Germans recognized George I and the independence of Tonga, while the Tongans gave the Germans the right to trade and of a marine coaling station on Vava'u. (304)

304. As early as 1855, through the governor of Tahiti, a treaty was imposed between France

/114 cont./
000 of minister of finance. A certain obstacle to growth is also the as
647 yet unbroken power of the nobles; in government positions, rank is
565 apparently still preferable to knowledge and ability.

829 For the majority of Tongans living on the 36 islands, the family
and the village community are the most important centers of life.
People know that there is a government in Nuku'alofa, and even that
there is a parliament which meets there with /115/ represetatives of
the people. But they scarcely have close connections with this
government, or even a lively interest in it. For most natives the
[643] government is much too remote--both physically and mentally. Only
[644] the Queen, the Crown Prince and the remaining members of the royal
house are well known to all the highly honored. As in olden times
178 in their relationship with the chiefs, the mass of the people are
829 today willing to follow the instructions and commands of their
203 government representatives. The fono, for example, the town meeting,
621 (319)
still exists; here the decisions and regulations of the government
are announced and accepted by the people--as in old times--without
discussion or vote. Thus, for example, the Crown Prince and Premier
[644] Tungi held a large fono on March 1952 in Pangai on Lifuka, where he
[645] announced to the men of all the villages of this island that from
now on an airline was to touch down on the Archipelago and that they
would have to build an airport here in May/June. The district officers
622 and town officers carry on their work in the villages with quiet
634 reserve; in general, they do only that which has been ordered "from
631 above," and do not interfere in village life on their own initiative.
203 They announce in a fono the instructions they have received from the
621 government; the men of the village accept the directives without
203 contradiction and carry them out more or less as instructed. Such
621

319. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 181.

/115 cont./

203 orders refer not only to the necessary public works for the village
621 community, but even to the personal activities of husband and wife.
641 For example, it is incumbent on the men to plant certain minimum
203 amounts of various crops on their land, and the women are given
621 instructions to make certain quantities of mats and tapa within a
given period. These directives signify the continuation of the ancient
(178) supervision and work guidance of the chiefs. However, the situation
has changed in that the products are meant only for the use of the
family producing them. The people in general willingly carry out
178 these directives. As in ancient Tonga, the majority of the people
829 accept the present situation of the government as an unalterable, self-
evident fact. There are but few who criticise conditions. Such
(565) critics among commoners usually have enjoyed special schooling and
(578) have become dissatisfied as a result of some hindrance to their
professional development.

829 As an example we cite the case of the Tongan S. who was educated
642 in New Zealand. He says: "Here in Tonga we do not have a democracy,
565 but a dictatorship. The chiefs have almost all the power and the
greatest influence. Approximately /116/ 50,000 Tongans elect seven
(666) representative to parliament, whereas the 33 nopele of the aristo-
(646) cratic group likewise elect seven representatives. Added to these
(645) are the cabinet members, most of whom are also nopele, so that the
small aristocratic group haa more representatives than the mass of the
829 people.--If a young noble goes to school in New Zealand, the nobles
565 raise money and support him. Later, when he returns home, he has all
464 the advantages and gets a good job, since government positions are
given out by nobles. A commoner is a complete outsider. You could
argue that the commoners should also raise money for him. But what
would be the use? He doesn't get the good jobs anyway. (320)

/116 cont./
642 given conditions, and is quite adequate to ensure all Tongans a quiet
177 and secure life, so the number of those who are discontent is small.

b) Distribution of Land

421 In old times, all land was the property of the Tu'i Tonga. He
423 granted it to the chiefs (or confirmed their inherited grant). The
643 /117/ chiefs in turn granted land to the *matapule* and the commoners
565 living under them. Within this system every land user was obliged
[651] to pay tribute to his "superior." It seems to have been customary
[428] that leased land remained indefinitely in the family of the one who
received it, for every heir of a chief's title had the ownership of
421 his land confirmed. The sons of the *matapule* and the commoners, by
423 a corresponding system, usually remained on the land of their
565 fathers. However, the chiefs had the right at any time to disown
the commoners living on their land or to relocate them. (321)

321. See E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. p. 174.

There seems never to have been any community property.

423 This system of dividing up land and land ownership underwent
178 some changes. Through the decline of the Tu'i Tonga's power and
565 the civil-warlike confusion, some chiefs became quite high-handed.
[642] In the constitution of 1875 it was ultimately determined that all
Tongan land belonged to the crown and could not be sold. Only leases
approved by the cabinet were recognized. The people had a claim on
land for building and settlement, whereas much land was still at the
423 disposal of powerful chiefs. On October 24, 1882, conditions were
178 regulated insofar as George I created the new class of *nopele* (nobles)
428 consisting of big chiefs and mighty *matapule*, and gave these *nopele*
565 hereditary lands (*tofi'a*). (322)
643

322. Thus George I confirmed the inherited ownership of a few big chiefs (see E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. p. 172).

/121 cont./

000 involved. Moreover, the Tongan population is growing very much; the
423 dearth of land in the Ha'apai Islands will increase, on the other
[161] inhabited islands land will become scarce after one or two generations.
[311] However, the opening-up of the Archipelago's uninhabited islands, as
well as a few land reclamation projects along the broken-up coasts
(or in the swamps) of the low islands (for example, Tongatapu), and
above all an intensification of agriculture will always be able to
provide relief.

423 Without doubt there is the possibility that a greater difference
184 between rich and poor will develop as a result of the unequal land
578 distribution, and on the small, already overcrowded Ha'apai Islands
social tensions might possibly arise. Today, however, nothing of
this kind can be observed; the Tongans live their relatively peaceful
lives and no one gets excited if he sees his neighbor ending up with
greater profits from his copra work because of his large plantation.

423 European advisers and critics admit that the present system
178 of land ownership is basically good, given the present state of
agriculture. Yet they emphasize that this system is not flexible
enough to make room for possible changes (improvements) in cultivation
and in increased cattle-raising, which is scarcely possible with
8 ½ acres. Since, for the natives, the present system of planting
[241] suffices and they find it most difficult to adopt new food plants,
[233] and since they show relatively little understanding for cattle-raising
even where there is an opportunity, a change in the system does not,
for these reasons, seem very urgent.

423 /122/ On the whole, it may be said of land distribution that the
177 ancient Tongan system was altered as a result of Europeanization and
the establishment of a Christian, democratic government. However,
423 this change occurred more in form than in kind. The present system
565 of land distribution, which seems somewhat strange to us, means a

/122 cont./

423 certain restriction on the properties of chiefs and above all on their
565 power; every commoner feels free, and no one is anxious about his
land, since the chiefs can no longer arbitrarily exert their power
[182] over the people. Nevertheless, since the Crown has ultimate right
[425] to all land and gives out part of it to the nopele as feudal tenure
[427] and to commoners as leased property, the basis of the old system seems
to have been upheld. Present-day land distribution can insure a
423 permanent settlement of the land and bodes well for the Tongans, to
425 remain by and large a farming people, even though the system, which
is good in theory, shows certain weaknesses in practice. With the
[432] legal prohibition to sell land, the present method of land distribution
[671] also gives the natives an invaluable protection against the land-
aquiring interests of Europeans.

c)Administration of Justice.

69 A very considerable change took place in Tonga in the field of
178 justice administration.

In ancient Tonga there was no government regulated jurisdiction.
Judges, police, and prisons were unknown. A few offenses against
[784] taboo rules were not punished by the hand of man, for people believed
692 in punishment by supernatural forces. The various "cases" which came
565 up as a result of other offenses of Tongan customs and habits
681 (especially in the existing noble-commoner relationship) were taken
care of by the chiefs as they saw fit. In general, punishment was
681 meted out as soon as possible after the deed. The chief punishments
were: beating (for example, with the palm of the hand on the naked
back, with the fist on the head and face), tying (arms and legs for
days), and execution (for example, striking with a club or drowning
[565] in the sea with a leaking boat). Influential chiefs seem at times
[692] to have acted as arbiters. (337)

/127 cont./

342 [113] 348. The illustrations in *Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery...* /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor,
352 which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with
[824] dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong
mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside
342 the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the
565 plantations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller
184 and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and
without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were
344 also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage
343 houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts,
and boat houses.

342 In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity,
178 with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its
basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas
today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a
(177) diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly
into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides)
and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also
square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building
material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as
the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following
survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/128/ DWELLINGS

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	in Haveluloto (Tongatapu)	in 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	in 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	in Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	in Fungamisi (Vava'u)	in Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
Ancient Tonga shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and walls..........(351)	7	16	38	47	9	15
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and reed walls.........	1	1	31	7		
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and wooden walls.......	12	3	3	9	8	1
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and corrugated metal walls	3	3	8	20	10	4
Roof of sugarcane leaves and tin walls (352)...			1			
Shingle roof and wooden walls.................				1		
Corrugated metal roof and coconut-leaf walls...			4	2		
Corrugated metal roof and reed walls...........			8	1		
Corrugated metal roof and wooden walls.........	3	4	6	33		7
Corrugated metal roof and walls................			11	19		10
Rectangular shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof and walls....................	1	5	1	8		2
Coconut-leaf roof and reed walls...............		1		4		
Coconut-leaf roof and wooden walls.............	2			1	1	
Coconut-leaf roof and corrugated metal walls...				1		
Coconut-leaf roof and sheet metal walls (352)..					1	1
Corrugated metal roof & coconut-leaf walls with wire netting...........................			1			
"Box type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls................................	7	1	10	55	8	11

/128 cont./ DWELLINGS (cont'd.)

	in Haveluloto (Tongatapu)	in 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	in 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	in Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	in Fungamisi (Vava'u)	in Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
342 Rectangular shape:						
178 177 "Box type," corrugated metal roof and walls....	2			7		5
184 "Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls....................................	6	2	21	68	17	21
"Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and walls.					1	

[824] 349. A few coconut-leaf roofs have sugarcane leaves mixed in; a roof very seldom consists entirely of sugarcane.

350. Here "dwelling" includes all houses that at present serve as dwellings or could serve as such, but are, for the time being, used for other purposes (for example, to store copra) or happen to stand empty, but could be occupied again at any time.

351. Two of these houses have only one rounded narrow side.

352. Tin from large zwieback containers.

/129/ The unequal distribution of types may be partly explained by the fact that 'O'ua and 'Uiha are more unfavorably situated for procuring European building materials (timber, corrugated sheet metal, and container metal); moreover, individual house types simply became more "fashionable" in some villages than in others. The survey also shows that the rectangular buildings are mainly made of timber and corrugated metal, and the native raw materials are used more for the old style of building. After all, the European shape generally

/129 cont./

342 forms a unit with the European building material. However, the
178 ancient Tongan shape still holds its own, as the following list can
177 show more clearly:
184

Village	Long houses with rounded narrow sides	Rectangular houses
Haveluloto/Tongatapu	26	18
'O'ua (Ha'apai)	27	9
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha-apai)	110	33
Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai)	139	144
Fungamisi/Vava'u	27	28
Tu'anuku/Vava'u	37	40

The settlements of 'O'ua and 'Uiha which are unfavorably located with respect to transport facilities have a considerably preponderance of of houses of ancient Tongan shape. A further Europeanization of the Archipelago could bring about a similar proportion as in the other four villages. However, this development will be relatively slow; for even in the seaport of Pangai and in the villages of Haveluloto and Fungamisi which are near larger seaports, (353) a great many natives cling to the old house shape--for financial and
342 traditional reasons. The prices for corrugated sheet metal and building
177 timber have risen very much; A Tongan must put aside the considerable
178 sum of approximately 300 - 400 £T . (= approximately 2800 -
435

353. European-type constructions are, of course, most numerously represented in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

/129 cont./

342 178 3750 German marks) to build a European-style house with a small veranda.
177 For most of the natives this is a goal worth striving for; there are
[435] only a few today who, for their pleasure in the traditional, will
[183] build themselves a "typical Tongan house" with great care and without
using nails. Many have "modernized" the old type with the new building
material. Since a coconut-leaf roof quickly rots under the climatic
conditions, and must be renewed every two or three years, people still
try to provide themselves, for example, with corrugated metal to cover
their roofs, just as they like to cover the walls of their houses with
/130/ it or, even better, with boards. At the same time they do not
simplify the ground plan by straightening the narrow sides, but go to
great trouble to construct the traditional house shape with the rounded
ends by using bulky pieces of corrugated metal and wooden boards. In
a house covered with corrugated metal it can be quite uncomfortable
under the hot sun, especially if the owner has not shaded the roof
with a cover of tapa or wooden boards; in this way, some natives have
developed heart trouble, for example. However, the Tongans would
rather suffer under such discomforts and know that they are thereby
relieved of house-building worries for many years. These "modernized"
Tongan houses, as well as the European-type rectangular constructions
(of corrugated metal and wood) with or without veranda, regarded by the
natives as something special and as the "better dwelling," are usually
342 lived in, after they are finished, until they collapse. Damaged parts
356 of walls and roof are seldom repaired, and almost never are they
given a new coat of paint, although paint is available in the Archipelago.
The weatherbeaten, gray, rusting, and, in part, collapsing
buildings resemble those of the slums on the outskirts of some
342 European cities. Yet the oldest of these houses are today at least
50 years old (thanks to the very good material that was still provided

/130 cont./

342 at that time). They have apparently been built in Tonga since the turn of the century.

342 177 For 33 of the European-type rectangular houses in 'Uiha/'Uiha and for 21 of these in Fungamisi/Vava'u, the following building costs /sic/ were obtained:

	in 'Uiha	in Fungamisi
built between 1890 and 1900	1	1
1900 " 1910	17	3
1910 " 1920	4	5
1920 " 1930	2	3
1930 " 1940	2	3
1940 " 1950	4	2
1951	3	4

342 178 The "ancient Tonga-style" houses hitherto mentioned do not correspond exactly in their construction to the model of old times.

Their construction (framework) in part resembles that customary in former times. Not only in some houses covered with indigenous [284] material, but especially in those covered with corrugated metal, one [283] often finds a strong and carefully constructed framework with lashings of coconut-fiber cord.

94 dwellings (of commoners) with ancient Tongan ground plan were examined in 1952 in 'Uiha/'Uiha.

3 of these had a "very good" construction which approximately corresponds to the kind described in the old sources (insofar as these give more detailed information on the subject); /131/ only the beams were no longer polished (smoothed over) with the former meticulous care and the lashings perhaps somewhat simpler. These houses were built around 1880, 1931 and 1933, according to the memory of the natives (The 1931 building was first used as a church, then as a dwelling.

44 had a construction much like the ancient Tongan, and can be described

/131 cont./

342
178 as "good." These were built:

between 1860 and 1900.....4
" 1900 " 1910....10
" 1910 " 1920.....3
" 1920 " 1930.....6

between 1930 and 1940.....4
" 1940 " 1950....13
1951.....3

47 further dwellings showed the ancient Tongan construction simplified and changed: in a few, the four supporting posts were thinner and were moved toward the walls. The framework was often weaker (and even a "stick construction") and also incomplete or augmented with additions (props, supports, etc.). The traditional lashings of coconut-fiber cords were often supplemented or replaced entirely with nails (or with hibiscus-bast lashings, more seldom with European twine). These houses were erected during the following periods: [177]

between 1860 and 1900.....1
" 1900 " 1910.....2
" 1910 " 1920.....1
" 1920 " 1930.....4

between 1930 and 1940....4
" 1940 " 1950...21
1951/52...14

Though it may be assumed that in old times simplified constructions were occasionally erected, which deviated from the typical plan, the figures above seem to show that the proportion of weaker constructions is increasing at present. The increased house-building activity since 1940 is presumably a consequence of the population increase (growing number of individuals of marriageable age). [161]

342
177
178 'Uiha is a more remote settlement. That is one reason why the traditional construction has prevailed here to the extent mentioned. In a village like Fungamisi which is near the seaport of Neiafu and is subject to more intensive European influences, only one /dwelling/, among the 23 dwellings with ancient ground plan examined in 1952, was found whose construction was quite similar to that of ancient Tonga and deserved the rating "good"; it was built in 1950. The remaining

/131 cont./

342 177 178 22 houses were weaker in construction and more of less simplified and changed. They were built during the following periods:

between 1910 and 1920....1
1920 " 1930....3
1930 " 1940....2
between 1940 and 1950....7
1951....9

342 178 824 If native materials are used, the roof is almost always covered with coconut-leaf mats (pola), which Mariner already mentions for ancient Tonga. (354)

354. J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 295.

The much more durable sugarcane leaves, which were formerly /132/

/132 cont./

342 the roof covering of the "better" houses, are today only occasionally
178 added to the coconut leaves, and are very seldom used exclusively.
824 The reason is said to be a great shortage of sugarcane leaves which is
(231) allegedly caused by horses that eat the young shoots.

342 Aside from the growing use of new types of building materials
178 (corrugated metal, tin and boards) and nails instead of lashings of
(177) coconut-fiber cords (kafa), one should note above all that the present-day dwelling of "ancient Tongan shape" is no longer "wall-less." The
(824) mats on the weather sides, which could be lowered or hung up, have been replaced, in the types that seem "pure Tongan," by stationary walls that consist either of coconut-leaf mats (plaited halves of leaves) fastened to slender lateral posts, or are made of reed (kaho) which, in a decorative arrangement, is stuck into the ground along the wall line all around the house and is bound together with coconut-fiber cords. Such "stationary walls" seem to have originated a long time ago. (355)

> 355. For example, Th. West, 90 years ago, described these stationary walls (Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English/ p. 45.

342 The average house of this type today has three door openings: two
177 opposite each other in the center of the long sides and one on the
178 narrow side that is not part of the sleep section. In some houses whose owners did not have any boards when the houses were built, or who attached special importance to building "purely Tongan," knotted together coconut-leaf mats that can be lowered constitute the "door." On other houses of this type boards are used as door frames to which doors made of boards are fastened with metal hinges. In general, these houses with coconut-leaf or reed walls have no windows. As a result of strong solar radiation, a certain amount of translucence of the

/132 cont./

342 matting and the door which is mostly open during the day, it is always
177 sufficiently light inside. The houses of ancient Tongan design, which
178 have wooden or corrugated metal walls, also generally have three door
openings which are provided with doors made of boards. Some of these
houses have one or two window openings on the long side, which are
closed with wooden shutters.

342 Today there is no longer a distinct difference between the
184 dwellings of chiefs and those of commoners. Everyone can and will
565 build a house for himself that suits his taste and, above all, his
(177) economic circumstances. Quite a few chiefs own rather large European-
(643) type houses (some with glazed windows), and the Queen resides in a
palace built some decades ago in the style of a European tropical
house; /133/ however, many commoners have also built houses for themselves that in size and use of material outdo those of many chiefs.

342 For the size of dwellings the following figures were obtained in
178 the villages of 'Uiha and Fungamisi:
184 Houses with ancient Tongan ground plan:

	up to 6.5m. length & 3.2m. width	up to 8.5m. length & 4.2m. width	up to 10.5m. length & 5.2m. width	up to 11.5m. length & 5.7m. width	up to 13.5m. length & 5.8m. width
'Uiha.......	20	46	26	12	6
Fungamisi...	13	12	2	-	-

The average size of a house with "ancient Tongan ground plan" is 8.2 meters long and 3.9 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 6.4 meters long and 3.2 meters wide in Fungamisi. (356)

356. Calculated from the individual measurements.

(177) Houses with rectangular ground plan:

/133 cont./

342
177
178
184

	up to 6m. length & 5m. width	up to 8m. length & 5m. width	up to 10m. length & 7.5m. width	up to 11m. length & 9m. width	over 11m. length & 9m. width
'Uiha.....	5	7	10	9	2
Fungamisi.	8	2	7	3	8 (357)

357. Some of these houses belong to half-castes (Tongan mother - European father).

The average size of a rectangular house is 8.2 meters long and 6.2 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 8.9 meters long and 6.6 meters wide in Fungamisi. (358)

358. Calculated from the individual measurements.

342 Thus the average size of today's Tongan dwelling (for commoners
178 and chiefs) is smaller than that of the ancient Tongan chief's dwelling,
565 which Cook gives as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide; however, it
184 probably corresponds to the measurements of the ancient Tongan dwellings
of commoners and may, in part, exceed them. (359)

359. Especially the "low, very small huts" observed by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285); these were most probably the lodgings of commoners acting as servants and living on the properties of chiefs.

342 The interior of Tongan dwellings has also changed. In the long
352 houses with rounded narrow sides the house still resembles the ancient
178 Tongan model. The floor is covered with dried coconut-palm leaves and
[824] grasses (or now simply with sand) and over this are spread mats
(*takapau*) (360)

360. These are already mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

342 plaited of young coconut-palm leaves. However, in many cases the
178

/133 cont./

342 178 [164] floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton (more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, partitioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both round ends) as the sleeping quarters. [177] The European-like constructions of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc. [435] This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside. Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa or cotton.

344 178 346 177 178 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses. (361)

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings. 343 178 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today, many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

/134 cont./

343 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings
178 serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook
343 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very
252 simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-
palm leaves (pola); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated
metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in
the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never
(178) inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling
and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part
343 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts
514 covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (pola) or with timber and/
178 or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most
343 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often
515 consist of only three pola-walls; some are also built of wood and
corrugated metal and are roofed-over. Boat houses occur now and then
343 in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm
leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of
service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas
[178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar,
simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, loc. cit. I. p. 139.

342 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there
178 are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient
177 Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the
model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more)
or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house
with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old
and the new which strikes us as strange.

342
463 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists

/135 cont./

342 (*tufuanga langa fale*). They (with several helpers) erected the chiefs'
463 dwellings and other larger buildings. (363)

363. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. pp. 96. 279.

342 It is to be assumed that commoners mostly built their houses themselves,
565 especially since Mariner reports that everyone knew how to build a
house. (364)

364. Ibid. p. 279.

342
412 The tools used in house building consisted chiefly of various axes with
[237] stone blades and rasps with rough fish skins. (365)

365. See W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*
/cited in English/. I. p. 109; J. T.
Plant, *Handbuch*.../Handbook/ II. p. 374.

342 Today almost every Tongan is still capable of building by himself
178 a dwelling with the ancient Tongan ground plan, and there are also a
177 few "laymen" who can erect a European-type house. Besides, there are,
463 as in old times, special house builders living in every village. They
received their training in the traditional way: by working on various
[868] house-building projects they gathered knowledge and experience. A few
342 were trained, European-fashion, as carpenters (for example, in Fiji).
178 Therefore, as a rule, they own an assortment of good English tools (for
177 example, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, hammers, drills, planes, chisels,
463 caulking irons, screwdrivers, files, clamps, angle irons, levels, tape
412 measures, etc.). Among the rest of the house builders, European axes,
335 transverse hatchets with iron blades and large European machetes, as
all-around tools, replace the equipment customary in ancient Tonga,
which has long since disappeared throughout the Archipelago.

412 /136/ The big axe (*toki lahi*) is used to cut down trees and cut
up and split trunks. It is usually bought readymade in the commercial
[824] centers of the Archipelago; sometimes the natives acquire only the blade
(approximately 19 centimeters length and 11.5 centimeters maximum width)

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
[602] worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
[465] relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
[435] there was no outlay for building material, since the builders
limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only
corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings,
331 up to 12£T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.

342 Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
177 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
[602] only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
[465] (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built
individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
[465] co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while
they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
[435] building material--aside from gifts--between 20£T. (old material) and
1000£T. (good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that
most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves
(Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
[463] However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
[331] building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga,
seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably
greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote
village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

/139/

342 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-
178 style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts
in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated
177 metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the
463 aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building
specialization; some skillful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to
build such types of houses. (368)

368. All European-style houses are, incidentally,
today built by Tongans without guidance by
(333) whites. The natives can also build a European
shed on concrete bases and even know how to
make concrete tiles by themselves (from the
necessary imported material).

342 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the
436 Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of
463 house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly
465 acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven)
331 during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient
435 Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old
178 times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire
process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

/140 cont./
283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably
generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and
only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated
method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko
leaves) (373)
for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold-
-and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks.
[171] Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber
bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally
still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees
greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and
[462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do
[574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava
[276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they
were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa
in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay
in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan
[461] style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters
of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this
way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of
kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they
finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they
persist in plaiting their quota every day.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[824] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

/140 cont./

342 313 trees (*Bischofia javanica* Bl.) or *toa* trees (*Casuarina equisetifolia*
[824] L.) at his disposal on his plantation (bushland)--as in old times--
[439] and does not wish to sacrifice valuable breadfruit trees to make posts,
then he must go to an uninhabited island where--again as in old ways--
he will look for suitable trees, or else he will buy imported Canadian
or New Zealand building timber which, moreover, is preferably used
342 instead of coconut palm trunks for the beams. To build a house in old
177 Tongan style, which is supposed to have board walls and be covered
439 with corrugated sheet metal, and especially to put up a European-style
construction, a person must, in good time, buy enough corrugated metal,
imported wood, nails and possibly cement in the commercial centers of
the Archipelago and transport them to his native island in the small
cutters.

342 /141/ Since a man must generally supply food for the specialist
264 (in case such a one is building the house) and all his helpers (other-
574 wise the orderly course of the work might easily be endangered as a
result of growing apathy), he must, in due time, raise quantities of
food plants and, in addition, depending on the size of the understaking,
fatten a number of pigs. If a man does not wish--or is not able--to
offer hospitality in this ancient Tongan style, he must have in readiness sacksful of flour and sugar, large cans of corned beef, tea and,
if possible, loaves of bread, in order to provide meals.

342 After all preparations have progressed to the point where they
331 can guarantee a steady flow of work, the day is set for the building
to begin. The work force assembles on the day announced; the work
begins.

The following account of the building of a house in November/
[177] December 1951 on Nomuka may show the juxtaposition (or fusion) of old
[178] and new:

/141 cont./

342 For a long time the "district officer" /cited in English/
177 living on Nomuka has wanted to move out of the house of his parents-
178 in-law and build his own house on a property he owns in the village.
463 He talks over his plan with Vilingia, the (approximately 45-year-old)
331 house-building specialist on Nomuka, who has been trained in Fiji
as a carpenter. They decide to build a house with ancient Tongan
ground plan but with "improved beaming," wooden walls with a cement
base, windows and doors and a corrugated sheet metal roof. Vilingia
draws a construction plan in an exercise book. The district officer
(439) buys four metal drums of cement, Canadian building timber, corrugated
sheet metal and nails, flour, fat and sugar in Nuku'alofa and has the
supplies brought to Nomuka in cutters. Six men from Nomuka sail to
(484) the uninhabited island of Tonumea, a half-day's journey distant, there
(313) chop down 12 breadfruit trees, cut them up as beams and take them
(283) home. Coconut-fiber cord is also made in sufficient quantities. After
all the material has lain ready for several weeks, the district
officer decides to start the building. Shortly before the date fixed,
(251) a group of natives sail to the neighboring island of Nomuka Iki,
there shoot one of the half-wild cows of the "boss," cut it up properly
and, in Nomuka, salt down the meat in wooden tubs, under the supervision
of an aged Tongan.

342 On the day the building is to commence, some 20 men from the
476 village (young and old in approximately the same number) assemble early
313 in the morning at the previous dwelling of the "boss," and, after a
331 breakfast of fried cakes /cited in English/ (Tonga: keke) and
orange-leaf tea, they repair to the plantations, led by the carpenter
Vilingia, where, because of the exalted position of the "boss," they
take the liberty of selecting and cutting down the coconut palms
needed for the rafters, without asking permission from their respective

331 /141 cont./
342 owners. The palms chopped down with the big axe (*toki lahi*) (see
476 above) are cut up with the same axe into nine-foot (or eleven-foot)
[313] lengths and, for further preparation, are placed on two smaller
342 (properly notched) logs. The "jacked-up" logs are then provided with
476 longitudinal grooves by two Tongans standing opposite each other
335 who, with the big transverse hatchet (*fale-vatu lahi*) (see above),
412 strike blow after blow, each /worker/ forming a longitudinal groove;
331 /142/ the two longitudinal grooves meet as they are struck, so that the second of the two workers can, with his blows, simultaneously tear the bark and wood out of the resulting fissure and thus lay it open. After turning the log slightly on its supports, another Tongan, /applying/ blow after blow with the big axe, slits the resulting work-piece (the rafter-to-be) on one side. After a further turning, the two men start cutting another lengthwise groove with the transverse hatchet. The process is repeated successively until 10,12 or 15 rafters (*kahoki*), depending on the circumference of the trunk, are marked off all around the log. Then the *kahoki* (which already have a preliminary slit on one side) are separated from the log with the big axe and a pointed club (crowbar). With a machete the rough chips are removed and the rafters are loaded on two-wheel, horse-drawn carts and taken to the building site in the village.

331
342 There are no reports about how rafters were made in ancient Tonga.
335 However, it is to be assumed that today's work which seems so primi-
178 tive to us was carried out in the same way in those days, and that
177 there is a change only with respect to the axes, the iron blades of the transverse hatchets and the measurements with English foot rules.

342 The groups of natives, each working on the felled coconut palms
335 (young and old separately, but also individual older men among the
476 young ones), busily engaged, though soon stopping for rather long
461
331

/144 cont./

331 house is now already occupied.

342 This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause
[461] of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material,
342 as well as European building methods have found their way into
177 Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization.
178 In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted
415 essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various
354 kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

> 376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

513
285
[352] /145 cont./
(824)

about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [531] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Gottingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386] 381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manaui leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders. 513 Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but [177] only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

513 The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One 352 still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the 178 typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

513 /146 cont./

352 383. These are no longer made in Tonga and
178 are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded
oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)

177 384. Depending on the location of the settlement
(village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron
bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by
[283] the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile
of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful
object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)

[178] 386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...
/cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook,
Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283;
also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in
the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf
ribs) (387)

531 /147 cont./

285 387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

(386) 388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed
285 with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being
178 plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--
415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In
(177) addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,
353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro-
352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little
177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,
(556) the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the
(574) symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

352 /147 cont./
177 personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that
[556] he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.
[574] Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place
178 in most houses, as in the old days (391)
422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau
824 fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which
354 coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have,
178 however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European
177 kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
372 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the
177 old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is
178 often produced in the old way, (392)
415 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses
177 bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various
178 shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.
000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they
often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they
are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in
color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on
the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value."
Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs
of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds
207 radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing
them with dry cell batteries or accumuators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so
practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across
treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are
provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
177 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and
basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable
enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay
pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

415 /149 cont./
177 have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles.
412 Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but
178 the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the
simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the
262 whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the
178 breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

415 Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and
412 cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks,
177 and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still
[264] generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls
415 instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often
177 one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and
European refreshing drinks.

177 The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has
352 in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing
405 which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy
534 chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos,
428 of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these
177 cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than
178 the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue
516 to sit crosslegged on the floor.

Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be
177 observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings
178 (seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered
forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets,
lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at
present disappearing, and that many European objects have been
adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/149 cont./

177 ones of their own, or are simply regarded as "representative." This
178 change has, however, not essentially altered the ancient Tongan style of household living. The great majority of natives use the seat mats and the sleep mats, as did their forefathers, and have merely made their traditional way of life more comfortable with the European
178 novelties. The difference between the furnishings of commoners and
565 nobles, which to some extent undoubtedly existed in earlier times, has disappeared. With respect to Tongan cultural assets this must have meant a loss in quantity and quality for nobles and a gain for
177 commoners. The acquisition of European things is today solely dependent on financial means.

342 /150/ To sum up, we may say about the Tongan house and its
177 furnishings that all changes, as great as they may be in detail,
178 have by no means changed the function of the dwelling. As in old times, it is the place where the family sleeps and rests. (396)

396. The set-up of the Tongan household and the distribution of houses on the individual properties in the village may be seen on page 80 ff., and the number of houses in the various villages on page 134.

[461] No work is done in the dwelling except the mat-plaiting of the women,
[285] and the cook area is still located in a separate hut.
[252]

B. FOOD

a) Cultivation

241 The Tongans were and are primarily farmers, and their cultivation
178 has undergone no fundamental change through European influences.
(177) Very probably the size of the land cultivated today in the Tonga Archipelago is as large as it was in ancient Tongan times. The
(161) considerable decrease of cultivation in the first half of the past century (as a result of the civil wars from 1797 to 1852 and the transition to village settlements) has as regards to the area of

241 /150 cont./
178 cultivation probably been made up for since the population has
[161] doubled in comparison with ancient Tongan times, and since it nourishes
itself primarily on home-grown products, the necessity for cultivation should be considerable. Thus today, for example, the in-
241
311 habited islands of the Ha'apai group are almost entirely covered with
plantations of the natives, except for the strip of bush land along the shore (to protect the plantations against storms) covering approximately ten percent of the land. On the island of Nomuka, for example, according to the recollection of older natives, there was a great deal of unused bush land in the old times, whereas today all productive land is cultivated, however, on Tongatapu, 'Eua and Vava'u part of the land is still unused.

241 Considerably more work seems to be required of each individual
to cultivate his land than even just a few decades ago. The views of informants on various islands of the Archipelago indicate that 30 or 40 years ago it was much easier than it is today for the Tongan to feed his family with what he planted, and several relatives besides.
[134] The reason for this change probably lies particularly in the
exhaustion of the soil on the naturally quite fertile islands, where, in various places for instance, there is no longer enough land available to /151/ introduce the necessary periods of fallow, (397)

397. Fertilization is still unknown.

and there is therefore relatively little yield, particularly from the yam plants. The increased population can, however, still live well on the products of its planting, (398)

[731] 398. Except for occasional hardship as a result of drought or storms.

even though there is no longer the surplus of products that G. B. Forster, for example, reports (on Nomuka). (399)

/151 cont./

241 399. G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

241 The Tongan today works the land granted him by the government
423 (api'uta). (400)

400. See p. 172 ff.

The api'uta are scattered over the islands (or rather, the districts) with no special system, so that for example, a villager will have his land in the northern part of the island (or district) and his neighbor will have his in the south. For various reasons, not all
[602] Tongans have received the 8¼ acres of plantation land to which they
[427] are legally entitled; (401)

401. See p. 173 ff.

the size of the individual plantations varies, and some natives work along with relatives or cultivate land of fellow-villagers to whom they then give part of their harvest (for example, one-fourth) in
241 acknowledgment. Whereas in ancient Tongan times the chiefs exerted
556 authority, force and supervision over commoners who cultivated the
178 land that was granted them--especially for the benefit of their
[423] lords--, nowadays the Tongan government is the supervisory authority.
[565] By law, every owner of an api'uta must plant one-half of his land with coconut palms and raise food plants on the other half (among them plants of economic value), the kind and amount of which are specifically
[622] determined. The "town officers" /cited in English/ see that these stipulations are carried out--in accordance with the regulations of
[634] the "district officers" /cited in English/. (402)

402. Regulation No. 11 of 1948 demands, for example, that the owners of individual api'uta grow the following:

/151 cont./

241
656
178
433

Plant	Amount	Day on which planting must be finished
Yams................	600	December 31, 1948
Taro................	150	"
Manioc..............	200	"
kape................	50	"
Bananas (siaine)....	100	"
Sweet potatoes......	300	June 30, 1949
Maize...............	100	"
Reed (kaho).........	10	"
Kava................	10	"
Sugarcane (au)......	50	"
Paper mulberry trees	100	"

(The governors have the power to order changes depending on local conditions.)

[425] [686] The government has the right /152/ to take away the land from the lessees who do not comply with the regulations. However, it scarcely makes use of this right. There are some plantations that are seldom visited by their owners and are rather overgrown, and no one seems to care about punishment. 241 656 The majority of Tongan, however, plant approximately the prescribed amounts and often go beyond the measure stipulated of basic food plants for which the numbers are set relatively low; other plants, such as maize and the reed used for house construction, as well as sugarcane are preferably "forgotten."

241 (462) Planting--as in old times--is purely men's work; very seldom, and then mostly for certain auxiliary work (for example, "sweeping" a freshly burned-off plantation) do women come "into the bush." 241 461 512 The average Tongan goes to his plantation several times a week (up to six times), early in the morning around six o'clock, and works at weeding, planting or harvesting until ten or eleven o'clock, and then goes back to the village. Often he visits his plantation again in the afternoon from 15 (16) o'clock until 18 (18:30) o'clock. The natives

/152 cont./

241 are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch,
461 but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit
[512] their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote
[517] themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand, have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost all available time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there
[476] altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241 Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a consid-
461 erable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these
178 appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed"
[417] (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires.
241 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan
178 love of order; some of the /153/ plots, with the exception of a few
461 "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

/153 cont./
241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[177] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work
has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The
"liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as
the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on
cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the
storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the
present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially
if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
241 as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
438 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
184 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
432 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their
countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example,
government and business officials); some natives on the larger
islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
241 example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
565 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
178 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
427 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
651 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
431 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
241 to the gods, (406)
796
178

406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

241 /153 cont./
796 has long since been forgotten; today the Christianized natives render
178 thanks for their harvests in church.

241 The main crops grown in Tonga today are: yams (*Dioscorea alata*
L.), *kapa* (*Alocasia macrorhiza* Schott), sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*
Poir.), manioc (*Manihot dulcis* Baillon [?]); taro (*Colocasia esulenta*
Schott) and bananas (*Musa* species). The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*
L.) is planted to a great extent. In addition, the following [items]
241 262 are more or less important for the food of the Tongans: breadfruit
tree (*Artocarpus altilis*), mango tree (*Mangifera* /154/ *indica* L.),
maize (*Zea Mays* L.), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), pumpkin
(*Cucurbita pepo* L.), watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), pineapple (*Ananas
comosus*), peanut (*Arachis hypogaea* L.), orange (*Citrus* species), papaya
(*Carica papaya* L.), *fekika* (*Eugenia malaccensis* L.), *vi* (*Spondias
dulcis* Forst.), *tava* (*Pometia pinnata* Forst.), *ifi* (*Inocarpus fagiferus*),
vaine (*Passiflora* species), *apele* Tonga (*Annona reticulata* L.), *'avoka*,
si (*Cordyline terminalis*), cabbage, onions, tomatoes. (407)

407. See itemization, p. 234 ff.

241 A "gatherer economy" properly speaking does not exist alongside
222 cultivation. The breadfruit tree, the mango tree, tomatoes, oranges,
papaya, *fekika*, *vi*, *tava*, *ifi*, *vaine*, *apele* Tonga, *'avoka* and *si* are
not only planted, but also grow more or less wild in the luxuriant
growth on the plantations, and these the natives, of course, like to
[137] harvest. (They also gather the fruits of the *kuava* tree *Psidium
Guajava* L. which was introduced by Europeans and now grows only wild.)

248 They continue to plant the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia
249 papyrifera*) (for making bast fabric), several pandanus varieties
(for making mats), tobacco and kava (*Piper methysticum*) for preparing
the kava drink. (408)

408. See p. 144ff.

/155 cont./

241 for the accidental green manure from decayed parasites on banana trunks and the ashes from burning the slashed and dried wild plants when the land is cleared. The apparently recent but /156/ obvious exhaustion
241
242
(134) of the soil on several Ha'apai islands, (412)

> 412. It is impossible for many land-poor Tongans always to observe the necessary period of fallow.

leads to the fact that here the less exacting, "new" manioc plant is in places planted more abundantly than the demanding yam; on Nomuka, for example, yam cultivation ceased altogether for a time until it was discovered in 1943 that the plant flourished once again. It was on this particular island that the Forsters (413)

> 413. G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

saw an abundance of harvested yams.

242 The planting together of various crops on the same land (for example, yams with bananas, sweet potatoes with kape and bananas) is a procedure already practiced in ancient Tonga, (414)

> 414. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

and is apparently based on early experiences of biological suitability.
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656 The planting of coconut palms has, however, as a result of copra production by the natives, become greater than in the past; the government prescribed division of the api'uta into half for coconut palms and half for crops has on some islands shifted to such an extent that some plantations are covered up to seven-eighths with coconut palms in between which bananas, kape, taro, manioc, etc. flourish.

412
241
177 The tool the Tongans use for cultivation has changed as a result of European influences, insofar as the old wooden digging stick (huo) that was flattened at the end and was not much wider than two to four inches (415)

/156 cont./

412 241 177

415. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

was replaced chiefly by two tools that have iron blades: The huo spade consists of an oval iron blade, approximately 14 centimeters long, 12 centimeters wide and provided with a socket approximately 17 centimeters long which is stuck onto a strong wooden handle about 1.50 meters long. The natives buy the blade from a shopkeeper and [432] make the handle themselves out of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.); [824] in a way, this tool represents the old digging stick, but is more efficient. (416)

416. Th. West already mentions it in 1865. (Th. West, Ten years... p. 146); a smaller huo spade with an iron handle is seen more seldom.

The huo lafa-lafa is a slightly angular thrusting iron (length approximately 13 centimeters, width approximately 18 centimeters, socket approximately 13 centimeters long) with its socket set on a wooden handle (approximately 1.70 meters long); the natives buy the tool ready-made from a shopkeeper and of course replace the handle themselves if it breaks. The huo lafa-lafa is used chiefly for slashing weeds on the plantations, sometimes also for digging in loose ground. The large machete (417)

417. See p. 203.

is also extensively used on the plantations, to cut down tough weeds, to harvest various crops, etc. /157/ /Illustrations appear here/ /158/ Sometimes a regular European pitchfork is used to loosen the ground (for example, in planting the stalk-cuttings of the sweet potatoe); one seldom sees European spades or shovels. The ancient Tongan digging stick has survived, in a sense, on the smaller islands where, on the plantations, the natives cut a piece of wood about two meters long, whittle it at the end by one-sided blows with the machete and then use it as a huo langa to break up (loosen) the soil in planting kape (less often taro or yams).

241 412 178 184

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 236]

/158 cont./

000 241 412 516 *kape* (less often taro or yams). With these tools they usually work standing. The former, apparently customary, squatting method of work (418)

418. See, for example, J. Wilson, A *missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 245.

407 177 242 is used only by a few very old men. Plows as well as other agricultural machines and tractors are used by Tongans under the guidance of whites only on the state experimental farms on Tongatapu and on the property of Crown Prince Tungi on this island.

121 241 The following survey may give an insight into present-day agriculture and show the changes that have taken place.

244 *'ufi* - Yams (*Dioscorea alata* L.)

262 178 Even in ancient Tonga yams were one of the most important food plants (if not *the* most important crop). (419)

419. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 237, 283/284; W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*...I. p. 89.

[illegible] White employees in the Tongan government have so far discovered 80 varieties of yams in the Archipelago; more than 20 different names are familiar to the average Tongan. Yams are still the favorite tubers on all the islands, though their total cultivation has decreased in Tonga in comparison with the past (see above); in the Ha'apai group yams are today planted to a lesser extent, whereas their cultivation on the larger islands of the Archipelago (for example, Tongatapu) is still quite extensive and in some places probably corresponds to that of the past.

244 221 Planting time--with certain shifts as a result of the long north-south extension of the Archipelago--extends from June to the first days of August and from the third week of August up to October-November. As

244 242 a rule, a yam crop is planted only on land that has rested; suitable

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 178 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has played a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses. (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

(262) (262) (273) (231) (262) (312) 1. The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated to feed chickens and pigs (old); used in pieces to feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old); to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

(212) (262) (264) 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

(415) (373) (524) 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu): used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

(283) 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cords (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

824 /162 cont./

178 (372) (752) (524) (old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

(352) (296) (372) 5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

(285) (287) (412) 6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

(482) (372) /163/ 7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

([illegible]) (271) (415) 8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

(313) 9. The wood of the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

(298) 10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

(227) (218) 11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tail piece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

245 It maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands. Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI, p. 237.

/163 cont./

245 This impression may be confirmed today for the entire Archipelago. [178] Very likely the present number of coconut palms in Tonga (estimated at over three million) is far greater than it was in the past, since a new type of utilization was added to the old possibilities, namely, copra production. (428)

428. See p. 298 ff.

For this the natives use up 70 to 80 percent of all harvested coconuts.

It is precisely about the cultivation of the so useful coconut palm that the Tongan is the least concerned. He scarcely clears a larger area for systematic planting, but rather, wherever on his land coconut palms would seem desirable for him, he digs small holes (diameter approximately 30 to 40 centimeters) and places in each a completely ripe coconut (in any position). No further care seems to him necessary. Some natives simply throw the nuts they have set aside for planting on the ground and the undemanding plant seems to thrive [221] even then. The "planting" of coconut palms is not restricted to any special time of the year. After seven to eight years the young palm yields the first nuts. Coconut palms, which grow by themselves or with mixed cultures (bananas, kape, taro, manioc), reach an age of over 100 years, though their production of nuts gradually decreases during the last decades of their lives. Since the ripe nuts are gathered only on the ground and one can then usually not determine from which palm they came, one cannot give any figures for Tonga about the annual production [181] of he individual palm. To pick the young "drinking" nuts the natives climb up the coconut palms in the traditional manner: while grasping the trunk they "shinny" up and need no special mechanical aids. For climbing younger palms, however, the bad habit of cutting footholds into the trunk (with the machete) has occasionally been resorted to.

mei = Breadfruit Tree (Artocarpus altilis)

[262] The breadfruit tree was likewise widespread in ancient Tonga. Cook

/166 cont./

244 [137] which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants, especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless and neglectful way they are tended.

489 [361] Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy 482 178 tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying. To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional coconut-leaf baskets (kato lou niu) hastily plaited on the plantations, which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk (resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself. Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, huo spade, huo 492 [136] [133] [111] lafa-lafa) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even abundant harvests to the villages.

241 178 111 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed. The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/167 cont./

241 the old tidiness on the plantations must be noted. In the matter of
178 transporting the harvest, finally, ancient Tongan methods and thoses
177 resulting from European influence are approximately equal.

Tongan agriculture has undergone no fundamental change, since European influences were not strong and intensive enough, and since the natives themselves felt no necessity to change their traditional, time-tested system.

241 The efforts of well-meaning Europeans to "improve" and change
177 Tongan agriculture were very numerous in the past, but did not become
permanent because of the brevity of individual visits of sailors and
researchers. At the present time, officials of the British protector-
ate authority seem uninterested in intensive efforts to influence
241 native agriculture. The two Europeans (an "agricultural officer"
563 /cited in English/ and his coworker) working for the Department of
177 Agriculture /cited in English/ in the more or less independent Tongan
647 government are limited in their effectiveness since they are dependent
on the wishes of the Tongans and are also handicapped by a shortage of
personnel; moreover, the agricultural officer has frequently been
replaced, and every successor has tried out a new program (439)

439. At present, the Department of Agriculture finds it most important to improve cultivation (increase yields), to determine the variety of crops most suitable for the particular soil and in future to develop possibilities of fertilization (perhaps bring phosphate from the islands of the Archipelago which are difficult to access, namely, Hunga Tonga, Hunga Ha'apai and 'Ata).

177 /168/ and a new system or work. Nevertheless, through the work of
563 white government officials a good copra export (440)
439 440. See footnote 533, p. 304.

and a good banana export (441)

/168 cont./

177
563
439 441. In 1951, for example, more than 74,000 crates of bananas were exported to New Zealand from Tongatapu and Vava'u.

have been started.

241 For the Tongans, their old crops and agricultural methods suffice.
178 As in old times, the individual scarcely specializes in certain crops. The same things are generally planted on all the islands. With their customary plantation work, to which the Tonga cling conservatively and which, after all, produces good yields for a limited amount of work, they are fully occupied, according to Tonga notions, and not much inclined readily to adopt proposals for innovations. Moreover,
[137] the plants introduced by Europeans were often set in suitable soil and, above all, the very careful maintenance that is often required does not seem feasible to most Tongans.

231 b) Animal Husbandry

In ancient Tonga, pigs and chickens (442)

442. See G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

231
136
177 were the only domestic animals. Even today, they are still the most useful animals for the natives, even though, since the second half of the 18th century, Europeans have made numerous attempts to naturalize other domestic animals in Tonga. Only the horse was able to achieve a certain importance, since it proved very useful as riding, pack and draft animal for transportation to the distant plantations of some of the villagers. Cattle, goats and ducks are kept by only a few natives, and the importation of sheep and geese was quite unsuccessful. Cook probably brought the first dog to Tonga and it was brought from Fiji at approximately the same time. (443)

443. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. p. 233.

231 Today, one may probably come across dogs in all Tongan villages, though they are not regarded as regular domestic animals by most natives.

231 [232] /170 cont./

453. See J. J. Labilladière, Relation du Voyage... /Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 149.

and do so today in order to obtain more tender meat.

Chicken:

231 235 [178] [262] The--still mostly semi-wild--chickens have approximately the same importance in the economy of the commoners as in older times. They too are not part of the daily food, but constitute the "reserve" for various (festive) occasions /171/ when a pig need not be slaughtered and one can make do with a chicken. Most of the nobles today act in the same way, in contrast to past times. (454)

454. See, for example, W. Waldegrave, Extracts... p. 187.

Chickens are free on village properties and also on the plantations. They usually roost in trees. They are quite timid, especially on the plantations. (There, for feeding, they are still sometimes called out of thickets with the conch shell.) Chickens are fed the grated meat of ripe coconuts; but they find a large part of their necessary food by themselves. The natives generally pay little [262] attention to their eggs which they lay in the bush and in hidden places in the village.

Horse:

231 492 [136] Horses were repeatedly brought to Tonga by Europeans. But it has only been in the last eight decades that the Tongans, to an increasing extent, realized how useful these animals can be to bridge the often great distances to the plantations. The natives have become quite skillfull riders, and especially the young often race over the bad [541] roads in the bush land at a bold gallop. Impromptu horse races are quite popular in some places (for example, on Tongatapu and Vava'u). The natives ride without a saddle or, instead, use an old European sack or a bundle of dried banana leaves. On such pads they frequently

/172 cont./

Cat:

231 [136] Cats, which were likewise brought to the Archipelago by whites, are kept only now and then by natives to protect their supplies from mice. In the bush, wild cats occur now and then.

[178] To sum up, we may say about animal husbandry that, as in old times, there is scarcely a Tongan household without domestic animals and that, as in those days, the pig and the chicken are the most important domestic animals for the natives. On the other hand, of course, the limited size of the islands, the small size of the individual property and the lack of water are reasons why no more extensive animal-breeding, especially of cattle, arose. On the other hand, 231 178 the reason why the change from their former circumstances is but slight may be found in the Tongans themselves, who apparently feel no necessity to alter their traditional economic system which is quite sufficient for their needs; in their raising of domestic animals--which might almost be called extensive--/173/ they leave a great deal to chance and shy away from the trouble which profitable pig and chicken raising, and especially systematic cattle raising (which is to a small extent possible even on 8½ acres) entails. The [262] [272] [237] Tongans do not recognize the advantage of a better meat supply and the use of manure, or else these advantages do not seem to them worthwhile, and the prospect of milk is not at all tempting for most of them, (457)

[439] 457. Imported, sweetened condensed milk has had a limited distribution in the Archipelago, which is probably due to the fact that the Tongans are very fond of sweets and that, in their eyes, this canned milk is very different from fresh cow's milk.

just as they do not care for eggs.

/173 cont./

c) Fishing

226 Fishing still plays an important role on most of the inhabited islands of the Tonga Archipelago. Many natives engage in it--alongside their planting activity--very skilfully and successfully.

226 184 The following survey may give an insight into the natives' involvement in fishing:

Village	Total number of households	Households that often fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that seldom fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that do not engage in fishing
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	100	73	11	16
Pungamisi/ Vava'u	45	20(458)	18	7

458. The reason for the relatively slight interest in fishing here is, on the one hand, that there do not seem to be as many fish in these waters as in those of the Ha'apai group; on the other hand, the proximity of the seaport of Neiafu, where one can easily buy food in the shops, may play a role.

226 Even in ancient Tonga there seem to have been numerous fishing methods. According to the sources, the natives fished mainly with nets of all kinds (459)

459. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279; Th. West, Ten Years...p. 118 ff.

and also with lines and various hooks; (460)

460. See J. cook, Beschreibung...loc, cit. VI. p. 286; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279.

they also knew how to spear fish. (461)

461. Th. West, Ten years...p. 121.

(178) (179) Today the Tonga use a great variety of fishing methods, most of which

226 [178] [177] were handed down from the past; a few new methods arose as a result of European influences.

/175/ From among the wealth of present procedures we mention the following:

Fishing with a Net:

kupenga pulou:

This is a round net with a circumference of four or five meters; its edge is provided with weights. The Tongan creeps unobserved towards a group of fish in shallow water and, with an adroit cast, throws the net over them.

kupenga sili:

The net has a rectangular shape and is between 6 and 18 meters long and approximately 1.2 to 2 meters wide. It has wooden-rod floats (some eight to nine centimeters long) and weights (approximately four to five centimeters long). The native who has discovered a group of fish over the shore reef, for example, creeps up adroitly without letting his shadow fall on the water, and throws the specially folded net in such a way that it falls in the shape of a semicircle and, spread out between floats and weights, cuts off the retreat of the fish fleeing back into the ocean, so that they are caught in the meshes. Straying fish are paddled into the net. With this method, three or four natives can work together, each one casting a kupenga sili, so that together the nets form a circle in the shallow water. The kupenga sili is also used another way: In waters abounding in fish (for example, along the west shore of the island of Lifuka), the natives let the net hang in the water in a straight line and then row toward it with an outrigger (or a European rowboat) while beating the water to drive the fish into the net. In the lagoon Ano 'Ava [916] of Nomuka the procedure is similar, but two natives usually wade in the same direction toward the net and vigorously beat the water

/179 cont./

226 177 though it has by no means displaced them. Even now, for example, the casting net (kuenga sili) is still, as in old times, (463) a very important piece of fishing gear, especially among the Ha'apai group. Among the ancient Tongan fishing methods, however, bonito fishing (from a boat with bamboo pole, tow-line, hook and fiber bait) (464) has disappeared.

227 286 177 178 (824) A change took place, chiefly with respect to the material used for making the fishing gear. With the exception of tuki (see above under /180/ uloa), no fish net in Tonga is today knotted of indigenous material. (465) [439] 227 177 The natives use imported European twine which can be bought from shopkeepers on most of the islands. Now and then they even acquire ready-made nets in the department store of the chief towns. Most fish nets nowadays have weights made of lead instead of the traditional coral-stone sinkers; they buy the lead from merchants, heat it and pour it in the shape of a plate which they cut into small pieces that are bent into tubular shape and used as weights around the edge of the cord of the net. The natives prefer lead sinkers because they are 227 178 824 heavier than coral stones and make handling the net easier. The float,

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226 178 463. See J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage... /Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 113/114; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 109; Th. West, Ten years...

464. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 286/287; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 342/343.

465. Formerly, the bast of the olonga tree (Tonchaedia) in particular (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279), coconut fiber cord (ibid.) and the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) (see Th. West, Ten years...p. 119) were used for net knotting.

/180 cont./

227 however,--usually of *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) wood--is still made
178 exactly as it was in olden times. In the *uloa* community fishing
824 expedition they use the heavy net plaited of coconut fibers, as they
always have, since the available hemp material seems to be too weak
[177] for this purpose. However, the long rope required for this procedure
[283] is scarcely plaited any longer of the *fau* bast; they buy an imported
227 European rope. The fish spears today have iron points with barbs;
177 they buy the prongs ready-made from a shopkeeper or have them made by
178 a blacksmith in one of the chief towns. The points are inserted in
the spear shaft and fastened with a wrapping of European fishline.
[824] The ancient Tongan fishlines plaited of coconut fibers (466)
[283]

466. See, for example, J. Cook, *Beschreibung...* *loc. cit.* VI. p. 286.

have long since disappeared. Today the natives use the European
[237] lines available in quantities from shopkeepers, just as they use
exculsively the steel fishhooks introduced by whites and have
apparently forgotten the traditional, beautiful hooks of tortoise
shell and mother-of-pearl. (467)

467. Ibid.

226 Benzol pressure lamps have largely replaced the torches formerly cus-
416
177 tomary in night fishing. The traps (*finaki*) on many islands are
227 already made more often of wire netting than of the roots of coconut
177 palms, and there is scarcely a Tongan who goes to the trouble of making
[824] the weirs (*pa*) of bamboo and plaited coconut palm leaves, but general-
ly uses wire netting for this purpose as well. Finally, some of the
501 boats used in fishing are still the traditional outriggers (*popao*,
178
177 rarely *tafa'anga*) (468)

468. See p. 349 ff.

but some are also rowboats and European-type sailboats which have re-

/180 cont./

501 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (*kalia*). (469)

178 177 469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (*fakatele*).

226 292 198 824 /181/ The sandals (*teka*) plaited from the bast of the *fau* tree (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 226 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets (*'oa*) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

824 177 470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 According to Mariner (471)

463 471. J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 96.

[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in [824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (*hika*) which [237] is carved from the wood of the *tao* tree (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.) or of the *milo* tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (*mata kupenga*) cut out of tortoise shell or *fau* wood (*Hibiseus tiliaceus*). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the [465] experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 227 [463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of [426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each [178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/181 cont./

000 the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

226 463 Like net-making, fishing itself was a hereditary profession, according to Mariner. (472)

472. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

Even though not every Tongan, by any means, knows how to fish anymore, the number of natives who master at least one of the methods is very large; most of them fish only in addition to their main work of farming, and there are very few who devote themselves daily and almost exclusively to fishing. The Tongan calls the fishing experts toutai; but he means by this not so much a "profession" in our sense, but rather a man who knows the sea and is experienced in fishing. It is not to be assumed that this was essentially different in ancient Tongan times. (473)

[784] 473. Gifford, however, speaks of "professional fishermen" /cited in English/ and says, for example: "An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the toutai ika (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed." /cited in English/ (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 147). If there were indeed "professional fishermen" in ancient Tonga, they could only have acted as attendants of chiefs /182/ and have served them. Aside from that, most methods of fishing were probably employed by anyone who mastered them, as is also implied by Gifford's words: "Every 'commoner' who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront." /cited in English/ (Ibid. p. 177.)

226 361 178 /182/ While, in ancient Tonga, apparently those who had their property along the shore had the right to fish, (474)

474. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 177.

today the Tongans within the realm of their islands, engage in fishing wherever they expect to be successful, and pay no attention to the

/182 cont./

226 owners of plantations bordering on the shore. (475)

361 475. Perhaps the reason for this change is the
178 fact that the natives today generally do
not live on their plantations, but in the
village.

226 It is only for the erection of weirs that they must apply to the
656 government for a license, and with that they are assured of the
exclusive right to a specific fishing ground.

225 In former times the chiefs alone had the right to catch turtles
565 and consume them. (476)

178 476. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 122.

(177) As a result of Christianization and the gradual democratization of the
Archipelago, commoners may today freely engage in turtle fishing.
(656) The only restriction--applying to all classes--is a legal closed
226 season for these animals (November to February). Tongan law (which
656 is the regulation that replaces the once arbitrary power of the chiefs)
691 furthermore determines a closed season for the 'ava fish of Nomuka
(May to June), and forbids the use of dynamite.

226 Seen as a whole, present-day Tonga fishing is not essentially
178 different from that which was carried on in earlier times. The natives
have largely kept their old methods, (477)

477. It is difficult to determine whether there
was certain development within the old methods
that was brought about by the Tongans themselves
or was the result of foreign influences.

only one of which was apparently lost and to which two were added. In
227 the making of traditional fishing gear, European material is used to
177 a rather large extent; it is more serviceable and at the same time
226 more convenient. As in ancient Tonga, almost all the procuring of
462 sea food is the business of the men; women gather only along the shore
000 and on the reef (liku) and fish with the hand net (talaki). As in all

/182 cont./ As in all
226 [178] areas of daily life, the commoners here too enjoy greater freedom than
[565] they did in the past. Fishing has largely remained a secondary
226 occupation (secondary to farming),, though there are some ardent fish-
463 ermen among the natives, a few of whom (478)

478. See "the landless ones," p. 178.

pursue it as their main occupation. However, there has never been a definite specialization or systematization. /183/ One does not meet any Tongans who carry on fishing as a regular business; rather, the natives go about it in their traditional casual-calm way. (479)

479. Although, in the Ha'apai group where fish are plentiful, one can easily fish "from one's front door," as it were, the natives do not by any means make regular use of this possibility. Nor is it rare for natives to return from fishing on the high seas without fish because they have already consumed them on the way.

226 The strange situation that the Tonga Islands, some of whose waters have
177 a great abundance of fish, today import rather large quantities of
439 canned fish, (480)
556
181

480. In 1951, for example, 15,912£ T. (C.Z.F.)-worth from South Africa, Great Britain, Norway, New Zealand and Australia.

may be explained by the fact that the Tongans are fond of fish prepared in the European way; largely to blame for this development, however, are the commercial interests of Europeans, the present "wealth" of the natives as a result of their copra production, as well as the laziness of the Tongans.

d) Food and Luxuries

Food

262 The ancient plants cultivated in Tonga (yams, kape, sweet potatoes, taro, bananas), together with various ancient indigenous tree fruits (especially coconuts and bread fruit) and fish (and mussels, octopus,

/191/

252 The Tongans prepare their food as in old times in (or near
[343] special cook huts (485)

[178] 485. See pp. 93-94.

on their properties; nowadays, meals are sometimes also prepared on
the plantations if these are more distant from the villages. The
252 natives use various methods. Most often they cook in pots. The
415 Tongans erect simple hearths of stones or old corned-beef cans and
177 iron rods laid over them. On this they set an iron pot or kettle, or
[372] an empty zwieback can, in which the food is cooked, while the fire
underneath the container is fed with coconut husks and shells as well
as firewood. Cooking (haka) in pots is most probably not an ancient
[439] Tongan custom. But for a long time the islanders have obtained clay
pots from the Fiji Islands,

486. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

A century and a half ago they also began using iron pots which they
obtained from European ships; (487)

487. Ibid.

however, it has only been in the past few decades, with the commercial
development of the South Seas, that cooking in pots has become the
252 predominant custom in food preparation. The characteristic Tongan
way of preparing food is to stew it in the earth-oven. This is more
work for the natives than boiling, but it is still often practiced
even for everyday cooking (especially on the smaller islands); on
Sundays, festivals and other special occasions, preparing an earth-oven is taken for granted in most Tongan families.

A typical, carefully prepared earth-oven ('umu) in Tonga is today put together in the following way: In the village, inside or next to their cook hut (or, if a meal is planned on the plantation, on a place there) the natives dig a circular hole, the size depending

252 /192 cont./

491. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 283/284.

they place in the pit as the main filling a whole pig (the inside of which is stuffed with hot stones wrapped in banana leaves) together with a few pieces of a tuber. Over the filled earth-oven they spread chunks of wood on which they place banana leaves. This in turn is [177] nowadays covered with old European bags so that the layer of earth which is finally shoveled on top cannot soil the food. The finished earth-oven now forms a dome over the surface of the ground; the height of the small mound corresponds approximately to the depth of the pit. In three-quarters of an hour to an hour and a half, the Tongan knows that the food is done. The separate covering layers of the earth-oven are removed and the food is served.

Of course, not all earth-ovens are as elaborately filled in the manner described. Sometimes, a few breadfruits, for example, are the only filling in a correspondingly smaller pit.

[177] [178] Aside from the use of corned beef as filling and bags to cover the earth-oven, it seems scarcely to have changed as compared to the past.

[178] Now and then they also roast food in hot ashes, as was already done in ancient Tongan times. (492)

492. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184.

This procedure (tunu) is as follows: On level ground they make a fire of dried coconut palm leaves, coconut husks or wood and, as soon as the flames die down, they place in it bananas or yams, manioc or taro cut in pieces, sometimes also a plucked and gutted hen. The food is roasted in the embers while being turned with a long forked stick. After 20 or 30 minutes it is done; the scorched banana skins (pata), for example, are beaten with a little stick so that they

/192 cont./

252 burst open and can easily be peeled off by hand. The natives like to roast food in this way on the plantations when they want to prepare a quick, improvised meal.

Boiling in pots, stewing in the earth-oven and roasting in the fire and ashes, these three methods of present-day food preparation in Tonga are numerically distributed in the preceding table of everyday meals as follows: Of the 345 meals prepared in this way in 'Uiha, 240 were boiled, 103 stewed and 2 roasted; of the 128 meals prepared in the same way in Fungamisi, /193/ 93 were boiled, 26 stewed and 9 roasted. (178) According to statements of aged Tongans, the earth-oven was used more often several decades ago than it is today; however, the figures show that the ancient Tonga method of preparation in the earth-oven has not yet been supplanted; rather, it plays an important part on an island like 'Uiha, and is used frequently even in a town near a seaport, such as Fungsmisi.

252
178 Small pigs are sometimes also roasted over an open fire--probably according to ancient custom--on a spit stuck through their bodies (from snout to anus); one end of the spit rests on a forked branch stuck into the ground, the other the native who is doing the work holds in his hand so that he can turn the piglet as needed.

Cooking with hot stones is seldom done any more, except occasionally to prepare the Tongan pudding (*faikakai*): in a large trough they mix manioc flour with water and heat the mash with red-hot stones until it boils.

Frying foods (for example, chicken, fish) on hot stones is still done now and then, as it was in the past. (493)

493. See W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*... /cited in English/ I. p. 96.

415
252
177 European frying pans, which are now found in some households and are used on the same fire areas as the cooking pots for preparing the

/193 cont./
415 flour-fried cake (keke) and for frying other foods, the Tongans find
252 a welcome addition to the rest of their methods. Up to the present
177 time, European cookstoves and ovens have found very little distribution in the Archipelago; now and then, on special occasions, people bake "English cake" in self-built bake-ovens by placing the cake in a mold on the hot stones of an earth-oven, surrounding it with corrugated sheet metal and earth and covering it with a piece of corrugated sheet metal.

372 Today, in the villages, fire is produced with matches; occasion-
177 ally one sees European lighters. On the plantations, where often no
178 matches are available, the natives often use the ancient Tongan method of striking fire. (494)

494. See p. 221.

and everywhere they like to "save" the fire in the traditional way in the form of a glowing coconut husk.

252 Preparing an earth-oven is chiefly men's work. They generally
462 heat the stones, peel and cut up the tubers and prepare the rest of the filling for the oven; the women help with the easier tasks, for example preparing the banana-leaf pouches. This division of labor corresponds to that customary in ancient Tonga where food /194/ preparation was apparently largely the business of the men. (495)

495. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 267.

The easier activity of boiling in pots is today, however, usually performed by the women.

252 Commoners probably prepare most of their meals just as they did
[565] in the past; the nobles--in accordance with their simplified
[178] standard of living as compared to the past--serve meals which are not very different from those of the people. Peeling, cutting-up and stewing tubers is still the most common way of preparing food, except for boiling. Extracting coconut milk with which the tubers

/194 cont./

252 (especially bananas or breadfruit) are enriched in stewing or boiling, is still done as in old times: They grate halved coconuts on the
[412] [416] coconut grater (hakalo), (496)

496. This is a tripod made of a piece of branch up to more than two meters in length (or a simple board approximately 0.80 - 1.00 meters long) to the front part of which they nowadays fasten in place of a shell, a piece of iron hammered flat and serrated with a file.

mix the grated meat with water, knead it with their hands, and, with a sieve (made of hibiscus bast or the fibers of the coconut husk), they remove the pressed-out coconut flakes from the now ready milky
252 177 liquid. The popular sweet dish (faikakai) (497)

497. For this they peel roasted breadfruit, mash it (with a fresh breadfruit stuck on a stick), cut the glutinous substance into pieces and mix it with a sauce of coconut milk and sugar.

corresponds to the "Fy'caky' lolo tootoo" mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga, (498)

498. J Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

except that sugar imported by Europeans replaces the former juice of Cordyline terminalis and cane sugar. Manioc today largely replaces the mahoa'a (arrowroot /cited in English/ = Tacca pinnatifida F.) which has been pretty much forgotten; similarly, the pudding mentioned by Mariner (who calls it "Loloi" (499))

499. Ibid. p. 286.

is now made out of the starchy flour of manioc roots grated on a
252 176 perforated piece of tin. The burying of fruit and bananas, (500)

500. See J. Cook, Beschreibung, loc. cit. VI. p. 288; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 209; II. p. 286.

popular in former times as a special way of preparing food and at the same time as "stockpiling" in which foods started to ferment and

/194 cont./

252 178 (177) (439) were then ultimately eaten or baked in this state, has almost completely fallen into oblivion. This may be attributed to the fact that today imported foods are available on all the islands of the Archipelago and that therefore stockpiling (for periods of shortage as a result of drought or storms) seems unnecessary. The fish that are caught are sometimes eaten /195/ raw, as in former times, (501)

501. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 107.

sometimes roasted in embers (ashes) or they are stewed, wrapped in banana leaves, in the earth-oven. (502)

(251) 502. Occasionally, they also preserve fish(for example, the 'ava on Nomuka), by cutting them open, cleaning them, salting them, hanging them up in the sun (with small sticks wedged into the fish to keep the two halves apart) or laying them out on platforms and then smoking them; octopus also often dried among the Ha'apai group.

Fish broth (with coconut milk) is still quite popular, as it was in ancient Tonga. (503)

503. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 161; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

231 The natives generally slaughter pigs and chickens as in olden times by stunning them; (504)

504. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282/283.

(177) larger pigs are shot. Nowadays they occasionally also slaughter animals according to the Jewish rites.

252 177 Among European foods, canned corned beef has gained special significance. They eat the meat either without any further preparation, or they heat the cans, but they also stew the corned beef in the earth-oven together with tubers by wrapping it in banana leaves and adding

/196 cont./

312 Occasionally, one also sees on the trunks of coconut palms, palm branches fastened lengthwise, which are supposed to catch rainwater flowing down the trunk, so that it runs into tubs, canisters or casks standing below. Naturally, the water which is sometimes kept unprotected for a very long time is seldom perfect according to European standards. (508)

508. See p. 55.

272 Nowadays, the natives also like to prepare refreshing beverages from grated coconut meat and fruit pulp, for example 'ota 'i mango (a mixture of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar), 'ota 'i meleni (prepared in the same way but with grated watermelon instead of mango), and 'ota 'i faina (the same, but with grated pineapple instead of melon). These drinks are perhaps a further development of the traditional 'ota 'i si (consisting of coconut meat, the juice of the Cordyline terminalis root and water) which is still made. The popular drink vai siaine, for the preparation of which sliced ripe bananas (of the siaine variety) with coconut milk (squeezed out of grated coconut meat) and water are heated in the earth-oven, corresponds to the ancient Tongan beverage vai hopa (that is, with the hopa variety of banana) observed by Mariner; (509)

509. See J. Martin, loc. cit., II. p. 285.

nowadays, on the basis of this recipe, they also prepare "lo'i lesi" with Carica papaya cut in small pieces. The preparation of tea from (178) leaves of the plant moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum) growing on village properties, or of leaves of the orange tree is probably a (179) modern development. In a limited number of households beverages of imported tea, coffee and cocoa are also prepared, and for festive occasions soft drinks made of European ingredients and highly sweetened 006 with sugar have become very popular. Kava (510)

/196 cont./ Kava (510)

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510. See p. 144 ff.

is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

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(178)

Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, many families have gone over to the European example of having three meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

(199)
(184)

[252]

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

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(516)

Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

264 412 /197 cont./

the bamboo knife customary in former times.
pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the
case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far
264 415 177 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates
instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient
Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served
on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or
even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only
415 276 178 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all
households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 178 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut,
in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes
(especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling
means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a
general habit.

264 562 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 565 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people,
however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between
members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles.
(515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

(178) Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one
will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower
rank.

264 574 178 261 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a

/198 cont./

264 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago,
574 and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old
178 times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)
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516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in
177 the food sector, (517)
178

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

[146] 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

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261 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and
262 drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional
272 value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,
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chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic beverages.

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574 Of all these luxuries, kava alone belongs to ancient Tonga. Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[178) It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

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[797) /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke.
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439 The younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

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178 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the

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178 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobaçco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

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(372) The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka" with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

(177) Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

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177 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

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432 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking

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[439] /204 cont./

16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white planters are included in these amounts.

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439 Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra production, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world market.

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177 Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained. Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced, though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

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[462] Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

/207 cont./

285 tofua is plaited out of leaf strips of the lou tofua species (for its
291 treatment see above under lo taha). This belt mat is dyed yellowish
(824) brown with a mixture of burnt coral limestone and the juice of green
(386) coconut husks (or sea water) and then pressed under the sleeping place.

ta'o-vala la (ta'o-vala tapa i'la):

The ta'o-vala la is also worn by men (and women). It differs from the ta'o-vala tofua chiefly in not being rectangular like the latter, but resembles a triangular sail (la); (535) it is also plaited out of lou tofua leaf strips and dyed like the ta'o-vala tofua.

535. There are also ta'o-vala which are made of three smaller triangles linked together.

ta'o-vala kie:

285 This is the most valuable belt mat. Among commoners, men and
292 women use it only on especially important occasions (for example, at
565 festive church services and as part of the wedding garb of bride and
bridegroom). According to a generally well-informed native on Nomuka,
(178) only the hau (i.e. the king and those of royal blood) were permitted
(643)
(644) to wear the ta'p-vala kie in ancient Tonga. Today, however, as a
result of democratization, the majority of commoners own them; yet
the old order is still alive insofar as a person who wears a ta'o-vala
kie, except on the most important occasions, is unpleasantly conspicuous in the eyes of these natives, and is suspected of wanting to show off "as a chieftain."

285 The ta'o-vala kie is made of the lou kie pandanus species.
824 The natives cut the leaves off the plant, remove their thorny edges
and part of the midrib, and roll them into rather large bundles (of 20 or 30 leaves) which they boil in a large canister (for about one-half to one hour); then they remove the upper part (upper skin) of the leaves from their lower part and place the former in the sea for

/208 cont./

000 above under ta'o-vala kie).

kie Tonga:

285 292 [585] This likewise very valuable mat, today the most finely plaited in Tonga, is popularly worn by bride and bridegroom at their wedding and also occasionally as a ta'o-vala at important church services and [565] festivities. A commoner will not wear it when he visits a headman (in order not to elevate himself), but the nobles themselves may wear [422] it at all times. In the various villages only a few natives own such 285 kie Tonga. Even today, as in the past, (536)

439 536. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 162.

178 such mats are bought from Samoa where they are made even better and more exquisitely; however, the difficulties involved in procuring these in particular are too great to make possible a general distribution in the Archipelago.

285 824 The material for these mats is also the lou kie species of pandanus (see above).

6. Various Mats

285 pola:

[824] [342] By "pola" the Tongan means the coarsely woven halved coconut palm leaves of specific (rectangular) shapes that are plaited for various purposes. They are used for the many sections of walls and roofs of ancient Tongan style dwellings, as well as for the "mat doors" put together out of several pola. The coconut leaf mattings (pola kai) (537)

537. Two joined, coarsely plaited halves of coconut palm leaves.

on which festive meals are served should also be mentioned here.

fala tuki kava:

This special mat serves as a pad on which the kava roots are

/208 cont./

285 pounded. (538)

538. See p. 145.

[824] The not very large fala tuki kava is plaited out of pandanus leaf strips of the lou tofua and lou paongo species (see above).

285 824 Besides the mats listed here there are several variants, as a result of the use of various pandanus species. (539)

539. Besides the varieties mentioned: (lou) tofua, kie, paongo, tutu'ila, the following are also used: (lou) kukuvalu, falahola, tapahina, totolo and fafa.

285 178 /209/ This list of the most important mats may show their considerable importance for the various areas of everyday life. However, if today in Tonga we are able to note a considerable wealth of mats with respect to variety and quantity, they do not represent an unaltered ancient Tongan cultural heritage. A certain change has taken place even here. Though we lack specific and detailed data on this, which could be compared with the foregoing list, nevertheless, on the basis of the old sources it may be said that the mats (la) used as sails, (540)

540. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

the standing mats used to subdivide the rooms of the dwelling, (541)

541. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 285; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 280.

the weather mats for the open sides of the dwellings, (542)

542. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the thick hibiscus mats which were worn in boats as a protection against the water, (543)

543. Ibid.

are today no longer made; apparently the natives also no longer use the bast of the banana trunk parasite with which, for example,

/209 cont./

285 178 ornamental mats were formerly plaited. (544)

544. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

New creations, however, are the "seat mat for one person" (see above) and the belt mat ta'o-vala kie-kie (see above). The Tongan mats of today seem largely cruder as compared with the past. (545)

545. For example, throughout the Archipelago there are no mats that compare in quality with Numbers. Oz. 141, I44 and 148 in the Gottingen Institute of Ethnology (Cook-Forster Collection, Cook's second South Sea expedition).

285 Furthermore, we must mention the influx of European ornamental materials;
178 the natives like to use the artificial dyes and wool threads for some
177 types of mats because of their novel color effects. Today, they also
(531) often simplify the work of securing the edge of the mats by giving it a sewing-machine seam; in preparing the material, they now boil various leaf species instead of baking them in the earth-oven which was apparently done in former times.

285 And still another change is to be noted: As a result of Tonga's
565 gradual democratization, some mats that were meant to be used only by
178 persons of higher rank lost their status and have fallen into common use by people, (546)

546. See for example, ta'o-vala kie, kie Tonga.

who, in any case, probably have a greater wealth of mats of all types today than they had in the past.

285 On the other hand, however, it also seems important to note that
178 in this area the past has been preserved to a great extent: Today in Tonga there is still no dwelling without mats. The natives cling to many different kinds of mats and still use the individual types /210/ for their traditional purposes; for example, the takapau has

/210 cont./

285 remained a floor mat (547)

178 547. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the fala paongo is still used as the typical sleeping mat. (548)

548. Ibid.

Mats are made today in large numbers and the natives willingly and as a matter of course, despite all apathy, take on the hard work of making them according to the traditional and complicated process.

285 Mat-making--as in old times--(549)

462 549. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 293.

178 is typically women's work. Only the coarse pola, for example, are also plaited by men (as in ancient Tonga). (550)

550. Ibid., p. 295.

[249] Even the planting of pandanus is often done by the women. The cutting of the leaves in particular is their business, "since the men might easily break them, " and the entire subsequent work process is done by
[476] the women exclusively. Plaiting the mats (especially the larger ones) is preferably done cooperatively in a kautaha. (551)

551. See pp. 95/96.

285 An important difference compared to the past is the fact that all
565 goods make by Tongan women of the commoner class are their property,
422 (552)
178

552. See in this connection J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 100.

and that today women of rank no longer make mats as a hobby and for sale, (553)

553. Ibid., pp. 100, 295.

especially not for the latter purpose.

285 Basket-making is an important area of Tongan plaitwork, today
178 as it was in the past. The following account may show the most

/210 cont./

285 (178) important types of baskets plaited today in Tonga:

kato lou niu (kato tokonaki):

This is the simplest basket and the one most frequently made (462) and used in Tonga. Men as well as women plait it and use it to (482) transport plantation products, carry copra, etc. They make a kato (824) lou niu by cutting a leaf from the coconut palm, cutting it in half lengthwise, coarsely plaiting the pinnate leaflets of one half, making the whole into an oval and joining the ends of the pinnate leaflets in a braidlike weave (= bottom of the basket). The entire work is finished in about ten minutes. They use this basket only once, as a rule.

kato kai tunu:

(482) The kato kai tunu is used exclusively to carry food. Women like to use it to bring provisions to members of a work group. This (824) basket is make by the women from a section of a fresh coconut palm leaf. They plait together its pinnate leaflets (on both sides) /211/ and then cut (halve) the midrib (main rib) so that they have a folding basket. Two handles (made of two times two pinnate leaflets) are fastened to it.

'oa:

(482) This basket is used especially to carry fish, but also to transport fruit, mussels, sand, copra etc. Women usually plait the (462) 'oa, but men also do this work.

(824) Such baskets are similar in shape and in the way they are worked to kato lou niu (see above), but are plaited much finer out of young coconut palm leaves (work time approximately one-half to one hour) and are used for several months (by both sexes).

kato lou 'akau:

(482) The kato lou 'akau is used for carrying, and now and then also

/211 cont./

285 and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see
(824) above) in a spiral coil technique. "Geometric" patterns are worked
(531) in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored
lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with
(824) the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm
and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a
(386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree
(Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the
(283) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or
(237) snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the
(283) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of
(237) women's hair.

285 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets
177 we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and
178

/212 cont./

285 177 178 care in making these receptacles which are still of rather fundamental importance in their everyday life. A definite change has taken place in this area, however, during the period of European influence: The number of ancient Tongan types has been reduced by the once so artistically plaited coconut fiber baskets (some with ornaments of shell disks) (557)

557. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

and today we are experiencing the gradual disappearance of the last "wedding baskets" (kato alu, see above). (558)

558. See pp. 114-116.

Even though the Tongan women still make baskets with considerable expenditure of energy and with the use of complicated methods (see foregoing list), nevertheless the results of their efforts often seem crudely and sometimes unevenly worked. The types listed are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage, except for kato lou kie. This small basket with a handle is an imitation of European purses, according to the natives. It [531] [386] is worth mentioning that the other types of baskets have apparently remained basically unchanged, though some of them are used only to hold European articles, and that the natives have conservatively kept the old black and white patterns of their pandanus-leaf baskets (with the original black dyeing of the leaf strips), even though European /213/ dyes are easily obtainable; the latter are, significantly, used only for the new 285 462 creation of the kato lou kie.--As in old times, (559)

559. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

basket-making is typically women's work, and the men, as in former times, (560)

560. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

only plait the crude baskets (see above, kato lou niu).

/213 cont./

285 i fulu fulu 'i moa:

(293) This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

(462) Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua
(824) variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)
(531) 564. See pp. 306-308.
according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is
[237] plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/ i lou fau:

[462] The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

[824] They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and
(177) hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes.
(386) A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also
(237) fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

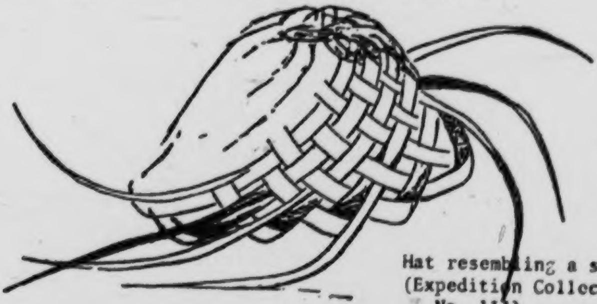
285 Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient
(177) Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case,
[439] the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences.
[178] Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa,
[565] i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

/215 cont./

285 tata fakapolisi: Hat resembling police caps.
292 helemeti: Hat resembling sun helmet.

These hats and those of other shapes are sometimes quickly plaited by young Tongans on the plantations from halved coconut palm leaves, and are worn as a protection against the sun or as a quaint
● (178) adornment. They are "inventions" of recent times.



Hat resembling a sun helmet (Expedition Collection, No. 114)

Typical women's plaitwork is the making of various ornamental belts.

mana fau:

This simplest ornamental belt may be worn on all special occasions (church-going, festival, etc.) by girls and women (and boys) in place of a belt mat (ta'o-vala, see above). Perhaps this bast belt is a recent introduction or a new creation which may, however, be several decades old.

285 Women and girls make the mana fau from the bast of Hibiscus
283 tiliaceus. With the machete men and women (girls) usually cut
824 several small trunks (some 15 or 20) of this tree which grows only
[462] wild; the women (girls) scrape off as much as they can of the outer
bark with knives, pieces of broken glass, etc., and place the slender trunks into the sea for two to four weeks; this loosens and make pliable the rest of the bark-bast layer so that it can easily be pulled

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/216 cont./
natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.

kie-kie lopa:

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[535]
[353]
The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men) as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka, tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
(462)
(283)
(824)
(386)
(177)
made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.

(283)
(386)
(177)
Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential feature of all of them except mana fau.

287
177
(196)
The bast cloth (tapa) (567)

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

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As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special occasions; (568)

568. See p. 66 ff.

since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

287 /217 cont./

353 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)

[178]

569. Still mentioned, for example, in Martin, loc. cit. II, p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial, [752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds. 287 353 178 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/221 cont./

287 wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

289 The customary method of producing tapa today corresponds largely
178 to that observed by Cook (577)

177 577. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 203/204.

386 in the second half of the 18th century and by Mariner (578)

531 578. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 288-293.

at the beginning of the 19th century. On the whole, and in numerous details, the work procedure has remained the same, though various changes are to be noted. Thus, European knives (and axes) replaced the shells formerly used to cut the paper mulberry trees; the outer bark is no longer scraped off the bast layer with shells; rather, bast and bark are today more quickly separated with knife and hand; manioc roots are now used as glue (in the koko'anga process) instead of the "toe" berries and maho'a (arrow root, Tacca pinnatifida Forst. f.) the koka scrapers are, of course, a modern device, just as the wooden half-cylinders with boards and nails used in dyeing have been "modernized"; the printed panels show symbols and objects from present-day Tonga and lettered inscriptions, along with the traditional patterns; moreover, the tapa lengths may today be wider and shorter if Mariner's account ("about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length" /cited in English/) is correct; the painting on of the segment numbers in Arabic numerals is, of course, the result of European influences; a certain simplification of the work process means the abolishment of the "baking below ground" (earth oven?) which, according to Mariner, was formerly customary and apparently made the color more permanent; finally, it may be mentioned that the re-drawing of the decorations is today more thorough and is not done with hea juice, but with a mixture of koka color and Aleurites soot.

/221 cont./

287 178 177 Yet these changes, which are partly the result of direct European influences and partly an independent development, seem trivial in view of the fact that the very complicated process of tapa-making has otherwise been preserved to the greatest extent, for Mariner's detailed and accurate account of it could--with the foregoing modifications--have been written in the year 1952 instead of 1816. However, it cannot be foreseen whether, with the isolated technical changes occurring today, which aim to simplify /222/ the process, the way is being paved for a deterioration of this ancient craft, as has long since occurred on almost all the other islands of Polynesia. These changes include: the use of imported wheat flour as paste, the employment of simple paper patterns to be painted, and the application of free-hand designs (based on printed-panel models). (579)

Manifestations such as these are not yet common by any means; they are seen here and there, especially in and around the harbor towns.

A noteworthy change in the field of tapa production, which, however, did not affect the technical side, occurred as a result of the gradual democratization of the Tonga state: The printed panels are no longer (565) exclusively made by women of higher rank, (580) but are in general made by commoners who thus carry out the entire work process and who, in contrast to past times, keep all the products of their activity, save for occasional voluntary gifts to nobles. The majority of Tongans, therefore, in view of the quantities of tapa produced in the Archipelago, probably do not own less bast cloth (565) than they did in the past. Whether this drifting-away of tapa

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579. In Fungamisi/Vava'u the natives use for their koka'anga work, for example, a net knotted out of European yarn instead of printing panels and coconut twine.

580. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 292.

/222 cont./

287 production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is
178 difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute
177 of Ethnology, (581)
[565] for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-
527 making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on
177 Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)
287 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that
461 is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as
283 tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their
287 technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from
177 the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen,
178 European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely spead of an actual deterioration.

In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we
[565] discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasing" of types once reserved for

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581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580; all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

/223 cont./

285 nobles to the realm of the common people, most of the traditional
287 plaitwork, knotwork and tapa-making is scarcely less numerous than
178 it was in the past.

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[565] During the last few decades there seems to have been danger, especially in and around the harbor towns, that these ancient crafts
285 might be lost. For this reason a course in "Tongan handicrafts"
287 /cited in English/ was introduced in all Tongan schools of the
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871 Archipelago, in order to teach children the important ancient Tongan crafts. Many a girl from Nuku'alofa, for example, whose mother was already inexperienced in the old handicrafts, has in this way been made familiar with them, and even in the harbor towns one now constantly hears the sound of the tapa mallets, though even here it was never completely silenced. For here, and especially on the small
[868] islands, the ancient Tongan crafts have been handed down to this day from mothers and grandmothers to their children and grandchildren.
285 The "liberation" of commoners also brought about no essential decrease
287 in industriousness after they were no longer obliged to work for the
178 nobles; the authority of the latter passed over to the government,
565 though in milder form, and the Tongan district and town officers
656 /cited in English/ serving in the individual villages--who are subject to a higher authority--see to it that the Tongan women living within their jurisdiction produce certain quantities of tapa and mats--for their own use--during prescribed periods. The majority of women and
[556] girls willingly carry out these orders, though there is no law that forces them to do so, for mats and tapa are still a standard of prosperity; no one wants to be regarded as "poor," and women will therefore work for their good reputation.

285 The question as to why the ancient Tongan treasures are still
287 held in such high regard can scarcely be answered simply by pointing
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/223 cont./
285 out that the Tongan women can obtain the necessary raw material from
287 their own land, and that they are simply continuing a centuries-old
178 tradition that has long been taken for granted. The chapters on
clothing and house-building alone show that this answer does not
285 suffice. No intensive European influences affected the area of
287 plaiting, knotting and tapa work, as they did the area of clothing
178 (missionization) Yet the various examples set by whites and the
177 possibilities of obtaining new goods and materials, as in the case
of house-building, could alone have caused a rather great change.
/224/ The fact that this did not occur must doubtless be explained
by the inertia of the Tongans, by their sometimes quite definite
conservative attitude. (583)

[386] 583. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the natives can easily obtain European dyes and that they like to use them (for example, for certain types of mats and for ornamental belts), yet they strictly avoid these otherwise so popular garish colors in making their traditional pandanus-leaf baskets and in dyeing their tapa lengths.

462 E. Division of Labor and Daily Routine

The division of labor according to sex among the Tongan population living in the villages is based on the principle that the men generally do the heavy work while the lighter tasks are left to the women.

A list of the chief tasks may show this:

MEN	WOMEN
Plantation work	Food preparation and cooking
Harvest transport	Tending children
Copra-making	Taking care of house
Fishing	Washing clothes and sewing
Preparation of earth-oven	Mat-making, along with plaitwork (and knot work)
Keeping domestic animals	Tapa-making
Grass-cutting (village property)	

/225 cont./

462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 178 The principle of the present customary division of labor between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook (584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.

as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux... I. p. 310.

reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. 462 177 The new tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making, cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the women are perfectly willing to do heavy work; for example, one sometimes sees women and girls splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making copra), if the male members of the family, for some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 464 565 178 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

587. On the occupational division of labor see the chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 181 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the

512 /228 cont./
527 (592)

[796) 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794) in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
[252) Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[264) of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264) Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574) sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212) bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571) week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264) gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (fakaafe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463) 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special
[461) professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
● 178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
[527)

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/228 cont./

512 choir practice; school work.

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178 and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday.
[527] Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity
[181] seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

489 In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

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481 With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/
177 distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

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177 The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

[493]
[401] As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient
000 Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)
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(554)

> 610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the
course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the
Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then
get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
[302] their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around
[515] eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the
passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been
unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed
back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a
load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

> 611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather
large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that
are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

/233 cont./

501
178 612. Today also with cotton or cement.

and of which only a very few exist in the Archipelago, will probably soon share the fate of *kalai* which disappeared seven decades ago.

501 A *tafa'anga* boat observed on Nomula Iki in December 1951 was built there that same year by a Tongan (from Niua Toputapu) and was used for short trips between Nomuka and Nomuka Iki. [824] The keel was made of wood of the ifi tree (*Inocarpus fagiferus* [Park.] Fosb), the planks and the float were made of *fau* wood (*Hibiscua tiliaceus*), the outrigger poles could not be definitely determined, and the connecting timbers (four) between the three outrigger poles and the float were made [284] of *toa* wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.) . There were holes bored in the planks which were held together with coconut-fiber lashings. Old tapa served as caulking. Two seat boards were nailed on fore and aft. The body of the boat had a coat of crimson oil paint to protect it against sea water. Two paddles propelled the boat.

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178 Aside from the European additions (nails in the seat boards and oil paint) this boat in its rather crude form seemed unchanged from its ancient Tongan model, which had polish-like smoothness and was ornamented, (613)

(113) 613. See G. Forster, *loc. cit.* IV. p. 347; *Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise...* /Diary of a voyage of discovery/ translated by J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781. p. 93.

and used for bonito fishing, no longer practiced today. (614)

614. See Th. West, *Ten years*...p.146.

501 The *popao*, namely the simple (and unadorned) dugout outrigger boats, are the universal craft used for short-distance trips. They usually take on one or two persons and are propelled with wooden paddles (having an oval or pointed-oval blade) or with improvised, trimmed coconut-palm-leaf stems. Sometimes the natives also use a

/234 cont./

396 are pounded slantwise (with a chunk of wood or the back of a hatchet) so that they are joined over the two sections in such a way that the outrigger poles can be fastened to them with coconut cords.

[412] The protruding ends of the struts and the outrigger poles are then cut off with a machete or are sawed off with a handsaw. (621)

[501] 620. The measurements of a popao completed at the end of December 1951 on Nomuka were: hull: length 4.50 meters, height (center) 0.35 meters inner width 0.25 meters; outrigger poles: 1.83 meters long; connecting rod of the outrigger poles: 2.05 meters long; float: 3.22 meters long; struts: 0.38-0.47 meters long.

After a short trial run (with old paddles) the boat is anchored under water for a night, to make it firmer and tighter; then it is ready to be used.

Instead of struts they often merely pound small plugs into the float and fasten to them flexible pieces of wood obliquely to the float, on the /235/ upward-bent ends of which the outrigger poles are lashed. This method is used more in the northern then the southern part of the Archipelago.

(178) The present-day popao apparently still correspond to their ancient Tongan models in the use of materials and the construction.
In order to make them more seaworthy, however, the natives sometimes also nail laths and boards to the walls and elevate the bow and stern with corresponding wooden attachments; the resulting seams are sealed with scraps of cotton or with imported cement. A leak is stopped up with tapa or cotton and a piece of tin or copper nailed over it, or only cement is used. Twine and wire sometimes replace the solid coconut-cord lashings. Some owners of such outrigger boats also paint them with oil paint (for example, blue) in order to make them more resistant to sea water.

/235 cont./

412 Though the *popao* seems unchanged in principle from that of the
178 past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those
177 used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills
[237] with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621) have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622) in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 To propel a *popao* one or two paddles are required. Special
[415] bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very
(178) seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 The supply of boats of the *popao* type is by no means uniform on
184 the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52
422 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had *popao*, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a *popao*--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though
501 there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general,
178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

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621. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...VI. p. 287.

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

/235 cont./

501 178 [177] seems to be on many islands--has very much decreased and will continue to do so. The reason for this, however, is not that superior European types of boats are replacing the popao, (623)

623. The cutters and sloops have replaced the old catamarans, and the few rowboats (dingi) of European construction in the Archipelago, made with expensive imported material, present no serious competition for the popao which are so easily built.

but that the /236/ Tongans today seem to turn less to the sea than they did formerly. (624)

624. For instance, only relatively few Tongans are able to handle a popao really skilfully in a somewhat turbulent sea.

501 The "countless numbers of small boats or canoes" (625)

625. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise.../Diary of a journey of exploration/ translated by J.R. Forster. p. 93 (he means the tafaanga).

which welcomed Cook, for instance, could today no longer be assembled, even if one included cutters, sloops, popao and rowboats of several islands lying close together. For example, of the 100 households in [422] the village of 'Uiha in April/May 1952, 86 had no watercraft; of the 45 households of the village of Fungamisi during the same period, 24 were without such a craft, and the natives of the four villages of the island of Lifuka had a total of scarcely 20 boats of various kinds.

489 177 178 Much has therefore changed in the area of transportation. Though the majority of Tongans go about on foot on the islands, the influence of modern methods of transportation (horse, cart, bicycle or motor vehicle) is in part considerable. Modern vehicles will undoubtedly increase in importance on the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u in the coming years, while on the smaller islands, with shorter

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178 /236 cont./
distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been reached at this time.

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177 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renown ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material (626) must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their traffic on the high seas. 501 505 178 Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of outrigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short trips for various purposes rather frequently.

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184 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft. (627)

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178 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility. Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods for money.

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626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives lumber does not seem resistant enough.

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137.

/238 cont./

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have likewise long since lost their reason for existence, since, already a century ago, clubs were replaced by the more effective firearms and, in any case, by that time a peaceful era had dawned in the Archipelago; the demise of the old tattooing art also meant the end of this vocation, and there are likewise no longer any occupational cord-winders because of the decline of the traditional way of building houses. Changes in tombs hint at what will be the last of the stone cutters' work. On account of the progressive democratization and with it the relaxation of the common people's obligation toward the nobility, the occupations of cook, barber, net-maker, fisherman and house-builder have also disappeared, insofar as they applied to the households of the chieftains.

[178]
[565]

463 The choice of occupation is today freely left to the individual, and usually ability is more decisive than origin. In modern Tonga some new occupations arose, only a few of which are comparable to those of ancient Tonga:

Clergyman (of various churches)
Teacher (of the government, of churches)
Physician (government service)
Administrative employee (of the government, of the Copra Board) (also: postal employee including telegraph service, customs official, policeman, road worker)
Business employee (of white or Tongan merchants)
Carpenter (for building modern and ancient Tongan houses and boats)
/239/ Blacksmith (often carpenter and blacksmith simultaneously)
Car driver and auto mechanic
Baker
Tailor (seamstress)
Hair-stylist
Merchant
Seaman (on small sailboats within the Archipelago; very occasionally on foreign ships on the pacific)

Employee of the administration (except for district officer and town officer), shop employee, car driver, auto mechanic, baker,

/239 cont./
463 tailor (seamstress) and hair-stylist are occupations carried on only
in the administrative and business centers of Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu),
Pangai (Lifuka) and Neiafu (Vava'u); the rest are represented on the
small islands of the Archipelago. Many members of these professions
also own plantations and cultivate them as far as they are able.

463 In the skilled trades there is no systematic instruction even
868 today. The young Tongan who is interested in a certain activity takes
part in the work wherever he feels he can learn something, until he
feels confident enough to carry out the work independently and his
/competence is/ acknowledged by the community. Natives of the
smaller islands who wish to become carpenters, for instance, prefer
to go to the chief towns of the Archipelago to perfect their skill.
(638)

> 638. The carpenter and blacksmith Vilingia on Nomuka, for example, even traveled to Fiji where he received systematic training.

463 Glergymen, teachers and physicians are given systematic training, the
874 two former in special seminaries on the main island (more seldom in
Australia or New Zealand), the latter at the Central Medical School
/cited in English/ in Fiji. Employees in the administration are also
systematically trained if it seems necessary (for instance, telegraph
service).

463 Whereas in ancient Tonga the performance of duty towards the
183 chiefs was implicit in the idea of a vocation, a present-day vocation
178 carries with it the idea of achievement for the benefit of the doer
himself and for all strata of the population. The person who
practices a profession is no longer directly dependent on the
463 nobility. In place of work that was acknowledged through gifts or was
465 unrewarded, there is now payment for most professional activity. All
178 Tongans in the service of the government receive fixed salaries

/239 cont./

463 465 178 (or wages); the congregations pay their clergymen; and workmen are paid in money for their services, by nobles as well as commoners (or else their work is acknowledged with good food); in business, finally, /240/ Tongan employees are also paid, while the independent merchants earn money through sale activity.

463 Vocational specialization, however, is only a complementary force in the general economic life. It is far from dividing up the population into various professional groups. Almost all Tongans still master the tasks needed for life on the islands. (639)

> 639. That is to say, agriculture, fishing, simple house-building and boat-building, domestic animal raising and copra production; the women today also generally know how to sew articles of clothing.

441 178 Businesses were unknown in ancient Tonga, if one means by business an independent activity continuously practiced with a view to economic gain.

Today there is business activity, in this sense in the Archipelago, [181] 439 but relatively few natives engage in it. In general, the Tongans lack a sense of acquisition. For instance, when white visitors arrive with the monthly steamer in the ports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the natives, even in these "urbanized" settlements, do not offer to sell them handwork (baskets, mats, fans, tapa, etc.), (640)

> 640. A recent exception are two natives who make tortoise-shell jewelry (rings, bracelets with silver inlay) specifically for this purpose (as handicraft).

and Europeans often have the greatest difficulty in getting a coveted "souvenir"; /cited in English/ usually they depart without such handicraft. (641)

> 641. Conditions on Niue Island (about 300 sea miles east of the Tonga Archipelago) are just the opposite.

/240 cont./

000 opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan
tradition; (642) and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.

178 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked
there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa)
buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90£T
and spare parts for about 200£T. He repairs the truck himself and
has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where
he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of
genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
(434) for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7£T a day
and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about
three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

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642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

/243 cont./
000 pineapples.

436 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and
178 use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places
where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/
[425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service";
[437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor
[435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric
432 for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches,
436 tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools,
to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually
the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received
20£T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15£T.
worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for
which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more
copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all
their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and
436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money
[177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and
usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most
Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations
425 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their
426 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing,
436 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom,
178 from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands--
there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break
with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a
426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed
436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to
178

/243 cont./
426 436 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard
178 the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money
434 and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to
a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away
[431] whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example,
it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the
full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins,
did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or
ten-pence.

454 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a
436 continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About
four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively
large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type
frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as
[428] dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money
[432] is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the
[439] normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by
434 the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is
436 soon spent in a large family.

436 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully
454 (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of
472 deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for
example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered
management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital
from 61£T. to about 800£T and the two aforementioned truck drivers
as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)
[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

648. See pp. 361-364.

/244 cont./

454 however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business
[436] sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such
[472] as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken
[181] over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the
[177] Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings
[652] accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)
[453] However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers
426 throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they
[671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of
177 the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food
178 and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter
182 of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some
[425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

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649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

/245 cont./

436 177 178 182 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns, [432] [574] however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-[181] tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 177 797 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/249 cont./

797 develop an effectiveness comparable to the Wesleyans who at that
time had already been working intensively for 16 years. But even
they converted a number of Tongans to their faith and were able to
found a few congregations, especially since they embraced a few
heathen chiefs whom the Wesleyan Tongans, for political reasons,
regarded as hostile, and because they often proved more tolerant
642 then the Methodists. The year 1852 then brought the final consolida-
643 tion of a Christianized, peaceful and united Kingdom of all the Tonga
797 Islands under the aforementioned Taufa'ahau who, as King George Tupou
I, ruled into the 90s of the 19th century. (669)

669. See p. 158 ff.; for the history of the missionization of the Tonga Archipelago see also G. Koch, "Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln" /Early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/, manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949. pp. 70-83.

771 Today all Tongans are Christians so much as a matter of course
178 and with such devotion that their old religion is almost completely
forgotten. The ancient Tongan conception of the world with the
[772] idea of high and low beings has been replaced by the Christian ideas
of the good (pleasing to God) and the evil (satanic). The idea of
771 the phantom-being that characterized only the nobility has been
775 superseded by the belief in the individual eternal soul of all ranks
565 of Tongans and the resurrection of the body. The conviction that
772 all misdeeds were punished only on earth and that the phantom-being
178 of nobles alone led a paradisiac life in distant pulotu was replaced
by the Christian doctrine of divine justice not only in this world,
of damnation and hell, of slavation and heaven. Instead of the
771 virtually countless Tongan gods there is only one almighty God
776 (in a Trinity which, to be sure, is difficult to comprehend). The
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771 /249 cont./ The
784 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-
178 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

[177] These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/250 cont./

771 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably
177 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult. Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-
[181] tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),
[152] give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous number of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he understands the Christian religion. (670)

> 670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the core of Christian doctrines, but very many do not understand them entirely. "We must simply try to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

And even here, a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is probably nothing unusal, since it is more or less true not only of Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

771 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European
775 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing
[784] certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

/251 cont./

771 775 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

178 671. These are today known as _tevolo_ (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback
at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report
[787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some
771 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

178 787 672. See J. Martin, _loc_. _cit_. II. p. 236.

825 that the call of the _sikota_ bird announces disaster and that it
embodies the voice of a dead person. The _fata_ is similarly regarded
[763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a
villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing
784 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on
789 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of
685 foilage (673)

178 [753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (_feta'aki_) with a strip of _feta'aki_ hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on
their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation
thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that
178 are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of
fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not
believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

/251 cont./ When earthquakes which are frequent in Tonga,
773 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)

778 675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120;
823 J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited
789 in English/. pp. 277/278.

776 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

/255 cont./

771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
177 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
[797] human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
643 built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers,
the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred,
as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped
stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.
532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be
mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
178 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and
the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and
explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeaniza-
(177) tion, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands,
[797] however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which
therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

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682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

/258 cont./

534 [202] instruments; they were used to give signals (as they sometimes are even today).

534 178 [231] The rhythm-stampers, the beating sticks (697)

> 697. Very occasionally, however, one still sees on plantation land on the small islands two slim trunks lying over a pit; the natives drum on these with two sticks and produce various tones to call the chickens for feeding.

and the nafa slit-drums, as well as the panpipes are today no longer found in Tonga. There are only a very few examples of the nose flute in the Archipelago, and very rarely an aged native will bring out such an instrument and play a few tones on it; (698)

> [162] 698. On the island of Nomuka (567 inhabitants), for example, there was only one nose flute in 1952, and its aged female owner was unable to play it; among the people there was only one man who was able to blow a short and incomplete melody on it.

very probably the nose flute, which was apparently seldom used even in Mariner's time (that is, at the beginning of the past century), will soon be forgotten.

534 /259/ To accompany the ma'ulu'ulu dance the Tongans in modern times have made a drum which they call nafa. This instrument that [177] is widespread today has only its name in common with the ancient Tongan nafa, which was a cylindrical slit-drum, for it consists of an old metal can with the bottom and top removed and the resulting open sides stretched with animal skin (of cow, horse or goat). This drum is beaten with sticks that have been made like European [178] [202] kettledrum sticks. To accompany the me'etu'upaki, an old Tongan dance, natives today use, instead of the nafa slit-drum customary in former times, the lali slit-drum, (699)

> 699. The lali are about 1.60 to 2.00 meters long

/259 cont./

534 with a diameter of about 40-50 centimeters and
a slit-width of about 30 to 40 centimeters.
534 824 They are pieces of trunk of the fehi (Intsia
bijuga), telie (Terminalia species), 'ifi
(Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb.), feta'u
(Calophyllum inophyllum) or kau trees, and
are hollowed out in such a way that the body
of the drum extends a good handbreadth
beyond the side walls that enclose the hollow.
The drumsticks are carved in various sizes,
usually out of the soft wood of the tuitui tree
(Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.). It is
[177] possible that the lali was once upon a time
borrowed from Fiji.

534 which was originally a signal drum for wartime and still exists in
178 large numbers on the islands and is sometimes still made, for it is
202 used where there are no church bells to call together the church-goers
to the services of the various village congregations, and in some places
it is used to announce the start of school. At various dances the
534 old drums and other instruments used for rhythm are replaced by
177 ordinary tin cans beaten with sticks.

For the rest, the natives have adopted various European musical
instruments. Guitars especially are very popular; (700)

[162] 700. On Nomuka (567 inhabitants) were , for
example, about 20 guitars in 1952, while
in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants)
there were about 12.

they are played almost exclusively by young Tongans for group singing
and also to accompany the tau'olunga and hula dances, for example.
One seldom sees mandolins or violins. In almost every village today
there are also a few mouth organs; the natives like to buy them
shortly before Christmas from the shopkeeper and then organize a
533 small mouth-organ orchestra for the holidays. Chiefly in the large
towns there are brass bands founded by churches. Using European
[177] scores they play on special occasions, for instance at burials and

/260 cont./

538 famous places, or allegedly also about the beauty of girls). Likewise,
574 at an informal village kava circle it is said that sometimes a Tongan
[533] will recite an individual verses of his poem in between the group
singing of a few songs. On the basis of the sparse and fragmentary
538 historical sources on this subject it is difficult to say definitely
178 whether the solo performance occurred more often in ancient Tonga
than at present. It is quite possible that this art which once
flourished under the protection of the chiefs became more rare when
their power waned and the once grand "royal court" disappeared.

538 The art of poet-composers who taught their songs to singing
533 groups has, however, been preserved to a great extent. Commoners
[178] and nobles are today active in this field, both for the high nobility
[565] (for example, at festivals of the royal family) and especially for the
common people. As in the past, they create their poems and the
melodies for them in solitude and then rehearse the new song with a
group which is to sing it at a planned festivity. Or else they gather
[574] together only a few young men and sing and play the little composition
to them often enough so that they master it (705)
/261/ and then in turn make it known further by singing it at an
evening kava circle. (706)

533 The change in comparison with the past consists in the fact that
177 today song composing has largely become popular and texts (as well as
melodies) show European influence. (707)

535 Dances were very popular in ancient Tonga. They apparently

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[177] 705. Today they also practice the new songs by writing the (European) note-numbers on a blackboard and part-singing them.

[535] 706. If they wish to learn a new dance they will create a text, set it to music and then practice the dance to it.

707. See p. 387-388.

/261 cont./

535 served chiefly as entertainment and were performed on joyful occasions, especially at the festivities of chiefs; (708) but big dances were also staged on the occasion of important acts of worship (for example, burials of great chiefs, (709) *inasi*-festival) (710) large dances were staged. The reports of European seafarers who visited the islands in those days are full of admiration for the skill and perfect uniformity of movement which the Tongans displayed in the grand group dances.

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178
[177]
(777)
Today large dances are seldom performed. Since the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries who substituted studying the bible in place of the "heathenish games, dances and similar endless amusements," (711) the ancient Tongan dance has not had a special flowering, although, thanks to the (diplomatic) tolerance of the Catholic missionaries (712) and to the conservative attitude of older chiefs, (713) it has been handed down to the present in various forms, and is today even taught in the schools and practiced for the large school festivals to be presented in contests between individual classes.

[527] Nonetheless, for very special occasions (for example, a wedding

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708. For example, J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I. p. 137.

709. S.J.Wilson, *Missions-Reise* /Missionary journey/...p. 365; J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I. p. 417.

710. See E.E.V. Collocott, *Tales*...p. 116.

711. See Th. West, *Ten years*...pp. 213/214.

712. See *Annales*...XVIII. pp. 26/27.

713. See B. Thomson, *Savage island* /cited in English/ p. 218.

/261 cont./

535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
535 in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes, various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.

[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292] [177] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over
[291] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[237] feathers).

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each.
[533] Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than
[533] paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont./

535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The eke is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the kailao (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the eke. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) uhi sticks (Evodia hortensis Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The eke may be danced at any time of day.

[534] [178] The eke is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The ula is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

[292] [177] In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear vala and dance shirts made of black tapa (ngatu 'uli) trimmed with black-dyed leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [kofu lou fau] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and vala made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 (533) apparently do not express the contents of the song.

/266/ The me'etu'upaki may be danced at any time of the day.

The me'etu'upaki is an ancient Tongan dance; early European visitors to the Archipelago already reported on it, for at that time it was one of the most important performances of the natives. (719)

719. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 205/206; J. J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 153; E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux...I. p. 293.

535 Today this dance is in danger of being forgotten.

178 To judge by the --albeit fragmentary--historical sources, the me'etu'upaki has by no means been handed down to the present time unchanged. For example, in early times no women and girls took part (533) (534) in it, and the short and thick nafa slit-drum beaten for it (720)

720. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 205.

is today replaced by the lali which is actually a signal slit-drum.

535 mako:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged approximately 20 to 60. Apparently not many Tongans master the mako. It is performed at kava-, birthday-, and wedding getherings, as well as on other festive occasions. Generally, only two or three individuals perform (177) this dance. They wear European clothing.

(533) To the accompaniment of a song (which in the mako, unlike other dances, always has the same melody) sung by the audience (=chorus), the dancers perform similar, mutually coordinated movements (of the arms and the rest of the body, but keep more or less to the same spot), and utter cries and calls (for example: "murderer") which are supposed to terrify the audience.

The mako may be danced at any time of day.

The mako, which resembles a war dance (and perhaps once was one),

/266 cont./

535 [724] (177) is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga, this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea.

[538) [533) Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with poetry and music. (721)

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

[292] [177) Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 178 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent.

535 177 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/267 cont./

535 177 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 765 177 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 177 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz, etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

[574] Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14 to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

[527] [574] In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 178 The most important result of the development, however, is the fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. [574] While at the end of the 18th century the Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

535 178 [797] [669] /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)

(794) 726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524 565 Among adults, the chiefs and their matapule like to engage in a hand-gesture game (liangi?) which had special rules; (727)

727. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation.../Account/ II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (matua). (728)

728. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

524 565 526 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were lafo, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a mat), (729)

729. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, Tongan society, p. 117.

rat shooting (fana kuma) (a hunting game) (730)

730. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (tolo) (in which a

526 /269 cont./

Cambridge 1829. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de La Perouse.../Voyage of the Perouse/ I. p. 293; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

and boxing matches of men and women (fuhu). (740)

740. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169/170; J. Sparks, loc. cit. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, loc. cit. I. p. 294; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

A few children's games have also been handed down to us. (741)

[113] 741. See J. D. Whitcombe, "Notes on Tongan Ethnology." /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers. vol. IX no. 9. 1930. pp. 7/8.

In the kamotu'u boys' game one of the boys standing in the center of the circle had to guess who touched him while he had his eyes closed. In the ngali ngali a toke, a boy had to catch one of a row of boys running in a circle. In the touhuhu game the boys had to try to spear with sticks a grapefruit turned on a pole. The boys also occupied themselves with a catapult (tafau), with small bows and arrows and a slingshot (makata) made of tapa or hibiscus bast. Old women played "scare and chase" with small girls by throwing tapa over themselves. Boys and girls tried to "flip" /"dipsen" is evidently a colloquial or dialect expression, and I'm not sure of the meaning. F.S./ pieces of hibiscus wood over a mat set upright (fisi-game)

524 526 178 [223] The games mentioned do not include all, but probably some of the most important activities carried out in ancient Tonga for amusement and diversion. The interest in individual games varied, and the fact that a hunting game such as pigeon catching was already "out of fashion" in 1800 (742)

742. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 341.

leads one to conclude that the number and kinds of games sometimes changed in the course of the centuries-old, autonomous development of Tongan culture.

/269 cont./
000 of Tongan culture.

524 The changes which occurred in this field in recent times as a
526 result of European influences, however, comes close to a collapse. All
177 the aforementioned games of adults, with the exception of lafo and hiko,
178 have today been forgotten. Although lafo is familiar to some Tongans
and is occasionally played, now also by commoners, it is rather insignificant compared to other games customary today. Hiko is apparently a children's game more than it was in the past (see below).

European games have generally replaced the ancient Tongan ones.
[525] Playing cards are seen today in most settlements, and various kinds of
card games (sometimes also played for money, despite prohibition) have
526 become known in Archipelago. /270/ But sports have become more wide-
177 spread. Cricket is today rather popular and, to judge by the cement courts seen in many villages and now partly disintegrated, it was played far more a few decades ago than it is today. The natives like to
[824] use bats cut from breadfruit wood and balls made of nonu wood (also,
instead of these, moli Tonga = tough oranges). The enthusiasm for tennis varies in individual villages. Young Tongans especially like to play it. They play with home-made wooden rackets that in shape are copied from European rackets (or else with regular rackets) and with European rubber balls or genuine tennis balls which they buy in shops; usually an old rectangular fishnet serves as net. Such tennis games are arranged at any time of the day (except on Sundays) on grassy areas in the villages. They usually do not bother to have a precisely marked-off court, but they try to play "singles" and "doubles" with scores if they know the rules. While tennis in many villages (even on the small islands) is the typical summer game, they devote themselves to football (rugby), which involves more movement, during the cooler time of year. The players are 30 to 40 years old, and they fight with more or less skill for the ball (bought at the shopkeeper's) and the goals. In some

/271 cont./

526 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20)
857 let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces
of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as "surf-
524 boards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays
857 seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.

[178] It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a
wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it
up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it
up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud
bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient
857 Tongan game of "hiko."

883 They throw two to six balls (=vaine fruits [Passiflora species])
[178] (the number of balls depending on their skill) into the air, one after
the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls
up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing
[533] children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has
a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful through-
out the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the hiko game is also
[871] taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the
village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 "Moa" is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls
857 approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five Aleurites nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

/272 cont./

524 526 [177] [517] the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/

6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[197]
[192]
[178] 746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

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177 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the everyday life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.
[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

[821] 747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and

/276 cont./

873 students are admitted on the basis of elementary school examinations.
The cost of such school attendance is quite low and is mostly borne by
the parents.

[177] These colleges are also run on the English system but, in keeping
[178] with Tongan needs, this is somewhat changed and less academic; there
is /277/ practical training included (for example, agriculture [partly
with machines] and animal husbandry [pigs, cows and dairy operation],
cabinet making. The subjects taught are about the same as in the
elementary schools, but the contents are of course correspondingly more
difficult, and the boys are also given some basic knowledge of natural
science and technology (simple mechanics). Teaching is done partly
[191] in the Tongan language, partly in English. The colleges apparently do
not have a high standard; they correspond more or less to the English
[875] intermediate schools. Teaching is done by white and Tongan male and
female teachers.

In the Tonga High School (Matriculation School) /cited in English/,
which opened in 1947 in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu, European and selected
Tongan male and female students are trained up to university level.

This school is organized on the model of the New Zealand District
High School /cited in English/. In 1950 (755)

755. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

42 white and 39 Tongan male and female students were taught here. The
[875] teaching body consists of a white "headmaster" /cited in English/ and
[191] three white "assistants" /cited in English/. Teaching is done in the
English language.

874 In addition there is a vocational school in which young Tongans
(over 18) are taught in subjects such as typing, bookkeeping and shorthand; after two years they take an examination and can obtain a positon
[875] in government service. Only white teachers teach in this school. In
1950 (756)

/281 cont./

829 177 [186] whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with the superiority of European materials and the European mind they maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans. [565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 177 178 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

[769] 760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184] [369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population

/282 cont./

829 184 369 177 178 in the villages and the seaports. The Tongans of the village settlements, especially on the small islands, seem to be passive. They approve of the development, they have a certain pride in their admiration and respect for the competence and the mind of the whites, even though they remain self-assured. The "urbanized" Tongans living in the principal towns have somewhat more contact with Europeans and their world, and are more lively and flexible. They too take an affirmative attitude toward the development because they see its necessity and its usefulness, and they are always interested in learning from whites. Yet they do not necessarily believe in the unselfishness and sincerity of all Europeans, but often critical of them. Many value the whites merely as advisers and teachers who open up for Tonga the material and technical facilities of Europe and who can also develop education, hygiene and administration to such an extent that the standard of the small kingdom can be raised and it can assert itself in the world; they reject a leadership role of Europeans. [186] These natives often show a rather marked patriotism; they are proud of their own small kingdom and of /283/ the fact that their Archipelago is the only one in the Pacific that has remained an independent state. Some of them are anxious to increase the political freedom of their country.

829 177 178 [186] In general, therefore, it may be said of the Tongan attitude toward their development that scarcely anyone longs for the past, for the ancient Tongan way of life. Many realize the value of their own culture and point to it with a certain pride, and some also try consciously to preserve it. But on the whole they willingly and happily affirm the progressive change of Tongan culture and only unconsciously impede it by certain conservative tendencies and a pronounced inclination towards equanimity.

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II. AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT

178 1. The General Course of Cultural Change in Tonga

177 Ancient Tongan culture grew naturally over a long period of history and was a well-balanced system that was taken for granted by all the individuals of this island and that met their various needs.

177 The cultural change in Tonga described in the preceding chapters is the result of the contact this native culture had with the more complex and active European culture.

During the influencing process the whites did not bring "European culture" as a unit to the Archipelago, but only parts of it, such as material goods, religion, democratic government reform, music.

Seen as a whole, these influences were not brought in a systematic and coordinated form. Europeans of very different types and often with opposing purposes established this contact: seafarers, run-away sailors, missionaries, traders, clerks, visitors and soldiers had, naturally, no common goal. Even today there is no unified plan for the further development of Tonga; however, the government does have the overall intent to bring the population culturally and economically (technically) up to a "modern" level and thus make the small kingdom a country that can hold its own in the midst of the European world.

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177 The cultural change in Tonga did not by any means proceed at an even pace. Though the discovery of the Archipelago by Schouten and Le Maire in 1616 may have been exciting for the natives of the northern islands, it was, after all, only an encounter which was followed by other, similar visits of white seafarers over a long period of time. Neither at the beginning nor later on was there anything that would merit the designation "cultural impact." During the period from 1616 to 1826, chiefly material cultural assets were brought to the Archipelago, at first occasionally, later to an increaseing extent. For the Tongans

/284 cont./

175 these meant only the possession of supplementary or improved equipment.
177 /285/ No essential changes were created as a result of them, except
for the fact that iron was introduced and gained importance in Tongan
177 culture which had been without metal. European influences were very
much intensified, however, with the beginning of systematic missionizing
work in the Archipelago in 1826. In 1852 the Islands were Christianized.
In 1862 the democratized system of government received a special
constitution which, in 1875, was replaced by one fashioned on the
British model. During this development toward a Christianized,
constitutional kingdom, the material and spiritual influence or the
inhabitants steadily continued. Yet the pace of this process was never
too rapid nor were its effect too great since, because of the remoteness
and smallness of the island territory that had no riches worth
mentioning, there was never great interest concentrated on it by whites,
and the indifferent and conservative attitude of the Tongans also had
a deterring effect.

177 The cultural change in Tonga came about in various ways: In
797 particular, purposeful whites who brought about this contact (above all,
the missionaries, as well as officials and merchants) effected it by
destroying the old religion, "liberating" the commoners and importing
consumer goods on a large scale; but the ideas and the products of the
whites were also disseminated by the Tongans themselves, even as far as
the smallest island of the Archipelago. In some cases it was a matter
of a whole complex of changes, since the missionaries, for example, felt
obliged to change not individual aspects of Tongan life, but several
interrelated areas of their culture; thus they strove to obliterate the
power of the taboo along with the ancient Tongan religion, and to
replace the godlike chieftain system with its arbitrary power by a
177 Christian and democratic state with a proper judicial system. In
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/285 cont./

177 178 addition, there occurred a sort of chain reaction in which one change carried another along with it; for example, as a result of the importation of European tools, the individual's intimate relation with the workpiece was apparently lost through easier and quicker work, and there was a certain decline in the old handicraft art, that is to say, a deterioration in the field of ornamentation, house-building, boat-building and so forth; another type of chain reaction resulted from the "liberation" of commoners instigated by the Christian missionaries, for this caused a revival of the old customs surrounding weddings and deaths, an increase in the old handcrafts of tapa-making and plaiting, and an advancement of the art of poetry, and this emancipation also gave an important impetus to the dissemination of Christianity and European book-learning. Some areas of Tongan culture, on the other hand, experienced /286/ little or no influence; for example, the old conjugal and family life of commoners, as well as the communal system and the means of sustenance (planting, domestic animal raising and fishing) have been largely preserved, and it seems noteworthy that the natives preserved much of their ancient cultural heritage, which in other Polynesian archipelagos already belongs to the distant past. (1)

1. For example, kava gatherings, tapa-making, earth-oven, old house styles.

The change in individual areas of Tongan culture varied in intensity as a result of the type of European influences, the Tongan attitude to these, and the situation at the time, which either furthered or inhabited them. As may be inferred from the individual description of this cultural change, (2)

2. See pp. 12-427.

it was not a simple, mechanical process, but rather a "battle of forces": thus, for example, the freer Tongan conception of marriage could not be wiped out by the intensive and unchecked influence of the puritanical

/286 cont./

177 missionaries.

178 The Tongans themselves seem scarcely changed in their nature and in their physical build; they have also kept their ancient custom of circumcision. Their hair style, their clothing and their tattooing have, however, changed fundamentally. In the care of their bodies (grooming, hygiene) and in adornment a certain change is to be noted.

In the social realm, the love life and especially the old conjugal and family life of commoners, as well as their social system have scarcely changed, whereas everything connected with the privileged position of the nobility has undergone considerable change; this includes the conjugal and family life of men of rank, the general social stratification, the old system of government, the former administration of justice, land distribution, as well as the division of labor according to rank. A certain change took place in the old manners and customs connected with family taboos (for example, child-father, brother-sister taboo) and the festivals tied to stages of life (birth, marriage, death) and in connection with name-giving.

In the sphere of economic life, house-building seems to be, in part, very much changed, though the old style of living has been largely retained. Planting, domestic animal-raising and fishing have changed very little, while food is more strongly European-influenced though it has not lost its essential ancient Tongan nature; among luxuries, tobacco, which was brought to Tonga by Europeans, has become very popular. Copra production must be mentioned as an entirely new work of the men (and also of the family). The /287/ old typical women's tasks (tapa-making, plaitwork) have been preserved to a great extent. Among the majority of the people division of labor according to sex has remained ancient Tongan in principle, and the daily routine has undergone only a limited change through new duties and tasks. European

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177 178 influences brought about a major change in the area of traffic. New professions, the development of trades and the use of money are further evidences of change in the economic life of Tonga.

The religion of these natives--except for a few insignificant remnants--was obliterated and replaced by the Christian faith.

The art of the Tongans seems very much changed, for song, instrumental music and poetry have been strongly influenced by Europe, and the ancient Tongan dance has largely disappeared from public life. The present-day games of these natives have almost all been borrowed from whites.

Knowledge and with it the islanders' image of the world are today decisively determined by European school-learning.

177 178 184 369 In various areas of daily life the cultural change is uniform throughout the Archipelago; in others, however, there is a certain difference between the seaports and the villages, as well as between the larger islands (Tongatapu and Vav'u) and the smaller ones (especially of the Ha'apai group), where a more "indirect" Europeanization (through Tongans as intermediaries) has taken place.

In the urbanized harbor towns there are more European and European-style influenced houses. Some of the streets are paved and are used by motor cars. Here there are some business sectors (department stores) and offices with files, telephones and typewriters. The natives may visit cinemas and buy ice cream. There are some whites living in these districts.

Despite the still strong community feeling, the Tongans living in the seaports seem to have experienced a slight measure of individualization and alienation among themselves. Here one naturally sees more fully European dress (trousers) than on the smaller islands, and the natives have become more accustomed to European supplementary foods

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177 178 184 369 (including bread) and a third meal. These Tongans seem somewhat more efficient; they make use of the postal and telegraph service with a certain matter-of-factness, and in case of illness they are more apt to go to hospitals. Here also, thinking in terms of money has found more acceptance than in the villages.

Though the ancient Tongan manners and customs that have been retained seem to be taken somewhat more lightly in the urbanized seaports, it is noteworthy that the "Tongan wedding," for example, has been preserved here almost as it is on the small islands, and that the right to take what belongs to the mother's brother (tu'asina) is still largely practiced. In these towns, especially, people also still like to wear /288/ the vala and respectfully to don the ta'o-vala (3)

3. See pp. 67-71.

when they attend a fono (4)

4. Gathering to announce government reports.

or wish to visit a chief.

In these settlements, tapa is still made even in the center /of town/, near the main thoroughfare, and most of the Tongans living here still carry on their planting, some of them along with their professional work.

The natives of the urbanized settlements and the smallest islands of the Archipelago adhere equally to their Chrisitian faith.

In general it may be said about the differences in cultural change within the Archipelago that many changes have been greater in the seaports (and on the larger islands) than on the small islands of the group. But even in those "urbanized" settlements they are not so great that one could speak of a complete "break with the past." Despite the stronger Europeanization of the harbor towns, essential ancient Tongan ways of life have remained there. We might rather speak of a

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"uniformity of cultural change with a certain margin of fluctuation" throughout the entire Archipelago.

Seen as a whole, the cultural change in Tonga has brought no collapse of the old way of life of the natives. It should rather be regarded as a steady development during which the previous order was modified and new values (along with the existing old ones) became the substance of life. The material and cultural loss caused by the change was replaced by something new--to the extent, at any rate, that for the modern Tongan men and women who were, after all, born into this development, the essential phases of which were long since completed, there was no noticeable gap. Rather, we see today a firmly established state and community in which almost everyone feels comfortable and secure and does not have any particular cares and privations; life for the majority of the people is even more worthwhile than it was in the past, while the nobility does not quarrel too much with its readjustment, the basis for which was already laid two generations ago.

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The necessary "adjustment change" resulting from the "change of circumstances" was all the easier for commoners because their traditional family and community life and their livelihood (from planting, domestic animal-raisng and fishing) scarcely changed in the villages, and because the change in religion was more an "exchange in a superior force that commanded respect," and because in many areas new and old attributes in a fortunate fusion. The nobility who, as a result of Christianization and democratization of the islands, lost considerable power, accepted what seemed unalterable, /289/ especially since, on the whole, it still enjoys a certain respect--at least formally--and also occupies the most important key positions in the government.

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The life of these natives shows no particular restlessness or tension, but rather a considerable balance of factors. The Tongans seem

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178 [154] to be neither physically nor psychically weakened by the change in their culture, or in their way of life.

The process of cultural change in Tonga is long past its beginning. The change in most areas has gone as far as was possible under the conditions, and a certain stabilization can be observed. The result is a new, sound and strong culture that is neither ancient Tongan nor European. Yet the development is by no means completed, but is still going on. It is noteworthy that the Tongans scarcely carry it further, but simply make use of it. We may thus speak of a "new order" that continues and is further developed almost entirely by advice and teaching, enticement and intervention on the part of Europeans. A creative development of their own, but for a few exceptions that seem unimportant, (5)

5. For example, in the material culture, the transverse hatchet fale-vatu (pp. 200-202), the lead sinker for fishnets (pp. 270-272), the iron coconut scraper (pp. 289-291], cigars (suluka) (pp. 297-298), the copra knife (pp. 300-301) and the koka scraper (pp. 326-328); these things (or some of them) the Tongans could also have borrowed from the other archipelagos!

is not to be noted. This has its cause chiefly in the nature of these human beings. But one must also consider that the time for a further development has been relatively brief, (6)

6. The inner relationship to that which was taken over is, to a certain extent, still lacking, for it has not been entirely internalized.

that the Archipelago lies rather isolated in the ocean, and the environment of these people is not stimulating, that the Islands have no mineral resources and that no climatic or other special pressures stimulate the islanders and spur them on to a further development of what they have received.

[182] As for the command of their environment, these natives still

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possess, in essence, their old capabilities, they have remained "masters of their world." They have even added to their former ability through ideas and facilities taken over from Europeans. But with it they have come to depend, to a certain extent, on whites and their goods, though this /dependence/ is not too great, since they could, even today, live without the help of Europeans.

If today all whites should leave and the Archipelago should sink back to its pre-European isolation, there would be no privation and no chaos. The Tongans could provide for themselves from their own land. The lack of canned meat they would have to make up for by somewhat more industrious fishing. Sugar they could /290/ obtain from their sugarcane and by planting Cordyline terminalis (see pp. 249-250). Other European items that are convenient accessories and improvements would be replaced by corresponding old Tongan commodities; thus, for example, instead of kerosene lamps they would go back to coconut oil lamps and torches, and instead of Lux soap they would use sand, bark and leaves. They still know how to build houses in the traditional way using indigenous material. Real emergencies would arise only in the case of tools, clothing and boat-building. But there would be no actual hardship, since some axe blades (in the case of fale-vatu, for example) (7)

7. See pp. 200-202.

have been in use often more than 80 years (inherited from grandfathers) and the Tongans themselves know how to make tools from old iron they often find in the ground; they would then gradually go back to stone blades of which many Tongans still possess "models." The question of clothing too is not acute since tapa and mats are still commonly produced. In boat-building they would go back as much as possible to native construction, though here there would be some difficulties

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177 178 182 which they would have to overcome. The Europeanized, that is, Anglicized government and administration would easily fall back into the ancient Tongan rhythm, especially since much of it is carried out in form rather than meaning, and the whites are more or less the driving force. Christianity, the churches, would, however, continue to flourish. In sum--it would be a Tongan culture with European enrichment, perhaps drowsing away, perhaps left alone too soon to act on its own, but it would be autarkic and altogether capable of survival.

177 178 The further question arises, whether or not the influence on Tongan culture and its change may be called "good and useful."

Modern Tonga is more of less in the state wished for by the missionaries and the white administrative officals; perhaps for the latter its development is a little too slow. For the whites in general relatively little gain has accrued from the Europeanization of the Tonga Archipelago: Christianity has spread over this territory, there is some advantage for world trade, and there are small benefits for the British Empire.--

The natives have lost the inclusiveness of their ancient Tongan culture. The European-Tongan contact produced an adapted culture in transition in which, in some cases, old and new have long since become fused, but in others they still exist side by side. Exposed to the useful as well as the harmful influences of a culture that grew in distant Europe, the Tongans have not become unhappy.--

Since the Tonga Islands were, after all, discovered and therefore confrontation with the Europeanized world had to be faced, one feels that this development is not the worst for these people. In viewing it, we must free ourselves from emotional thinking and prejudices. Even though we must not forget that this mixed culture does not have the unique quality and the complete inner coherence of ancient Tongan

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177 culture, and /291/ it is at present not capable of continuing in this
178 way without the help of whites, nevertheless, alongside a recognition of the negative, the disintegration of the old, we should place the evaluation of the new that has been created. Since this has brought about no catastrophe for the native, but makes his existence altogether worthwhile, it probably fulfills the most important function of culture, namely, to provide for the human being a good existance in his world.

Final alignment with Western civilization does not seem very probably for present Tongan culture and is perhaps also not worth striving for, since the preservation of the ancient Tongan community life and the bases of their traditional means of subsistence can largely avert the dangers of commercialization and individualization, social disintegration and mental alienation, uprootedness and discontent. The future is completely open and lies not only in the hands of the British protectorate power, but in those of the Tongans themselves, and is moreover controlled by imponderables which are so often decisive in such developments. It is possible--and probably to be hoped for the Tongans' sake--that this native culture will in the future, as today, (and probably to a greater extent) happily satisfy Tongan nature and European circumstances. The pre-conditions are certainly there.

2. The Cultural Change in Tonga
Compared with Change

A. In the Samoa Islands

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[121] It may help us to understand the causes of this change of Tongan culture if we compare it with a few other European-influenced native cultures.

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177 Samoan culture offers the example of a similar culture under approximately similar influences, which was altered to a similar extent. It too is a simpler, more passive culture which came under the impact

T /294 cont./
S 361 which was customary even in ancient times--in contrast to Tonga--
177 has been retained; but /295/ in larger settlements that consist of
individual sections these have, in some cases, made themselves
T S independent to a certain extent. As in the Tongan Archipelago, the
621 178 old encompassing community system in the villages is still alive.
S With respect to social stratification, however, the power of the
565 nobility--in complete contrast to changes on the Tonga Islands-- has
178 been preserved to a remarkable extent, the position of the matai in
596 584 recent times has suffered to some extent by the fact that the young
generation is gaining influence in the family and, with the decline
of the taupou system, (15)
the function of the tulafale (speaker) as marriage go-between belongs
S to the past. The fact that the exceptional position of the nobility
565 here in Samoa has not been weakened as much as in Tonga may probably
178 177 not be explained solely by the rather conservative nature of the
797 Samoans, but by the fact that the missionaries here did not see any
T particular need to attack the old social system, for in this semi-
565 democratic system the rule of the matai was apparently never as absolute and arbitrary as that of the Tongan nobility, and on the Samoa Islands there was no permanent division between nobility and commoners, for the serving non-noble still had a chance to be promoted to the nobility.

S As a result of the self-confident and conservative nature of
177 these natives as well as the restraint of the missionaries and the
178 white government the traditional political organization in West
623 Samoa is still largely intact, with the village governments (council
S of matai) preserved. As a result of the occupation of the Archipelago
657 631 692 648 by whites the Samoa Islands have become two political entities

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15. See F.J.H. Grattan, loc. cit. p. 152.

S /296 cont./
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177 canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life.
178 Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans
[262] and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example
[252] iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's
[415]
[264] fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

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276 In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has
177 become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large
249 extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.
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S
T /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very
245 common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However,
S here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there
[434] has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong
[596] enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives
T
462 on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga.
178 Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the
463 Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still
S been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the
T
512 same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain
178 extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very
S
T much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build
489 and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large
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S numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).
[501]

S /297 cont./
463 In Samoa, too, new professions such as pastor, physician
177 (Samoan medical practitioner /cited in English/), teacher, administrative
official and shopkeeper, have arisen as a result of European influence
S on the Islands. However, only a few natives, probably fewer than in
(441) Tonga, have begun to carry on in business; their traditional community
(178) system does not by any means favor such individual enterprises. These
S 177 changes have thus far had no great influence on the economic life of
S the masses of Samoans. As in Tonga, such an influence should not be seen
177 in the use of money, though this is widespread in the Archipelago as a
436 result of copra, cocoa and banana sales, and it has even entered into
their customs in the most remote villages, (17)

S (585) 17. For example at weddings, the exchange of a rather large sum of money (family of the bridegroom) and Samoan goods (family of the bride).

yet has nowhere made the natives absolutely dependent on money, nor has
S it resulted in a true cash economy. Every Samoan--like every Tongan--
T 177 can still, if necessary, live in his village without money. (18)

436 18. Thanks to their social and economic system.

178 and there is scarcely any methodical use of money, (19)

S (161) (433) 19. For example, although the population doubled from 1921 to 1947, the total production of copra remained the same during this period (see Department of External Affairs, Western Samoa 1947. p. 43).

because it does not fit in with the character and needs of these people
and because the old community system has been preserved /298/ and has
hitherto proved stronger than the corrupting effect of money.

S The old Samoan religion, like that of the Tongans, was obliterated
T 771 long ago (likewise approximately a century ago), and Christianity has
177 permeated the life of these natives; only insignificant remnants of their

S /298 cont./
T 871 schools of five missions) is less effective than the Tongan, and mass
education has not as yet been particularly successful, especially since
in West Samoa (with a majority of the population) there is no
compulsory education and in all the villages of the Islands the existing
schools are attended rather irregularly. Even though the so proud
S T and conservative Samoans do not have the same ambition to become
[181] educated that the Tongans seem to have, it is nevertheless noteworthy
S [212] that today almost all Samoans can read and write. In comparison with
Tonga, however, only very few get beyond the elementary school level.

S /299/ In Samoa, as in Tonga, there is a difference in the change
T that has taken place in the culture between the more remote villages
177 and the settlements favorably situated with regard to transport
178 facilities and the commercial centers. In these "urbanized" towns one
184 369 often notices in an occasional outsider who come there a detachment from
his "extended family" in addition to a slight alienation and a growing
importance attached to money, and the way of life of some natives shows
considerable change in clothing, food and dwelling. In the city of
Apia some people, especially young natives, are at times disdainful of
the ancient Samoan way of life and the customs of their fathers, and
feel superior to their countrymen who come "from the most backward
villages" for a visit.

However, at present, such manifestations can be observed only
among a minority of Samoans and should be regarded as exceptions. Up
S 177 to now the Samoan culture has shown itself to be at least as strong
178 as the Tongan. It has remained sound and dominant, despite the variety
of European influences. (23)

23. Even the large sums of money which came into the country as a result of the presence of American troops on the Islands and the possibility of easy acquisition during that

/300 cont./

S T 177 182 increased through European ideas and the material goods of the whites. The /state of/ dependence which this has brought about for these islanders is limited, as in the case of the Tongans; for basically, the Samoans can also live on what land and sea and their work can give them, and the loss of all that has been newly acquired would not mean a catastrophe.

S T 177 178 S (181) Thus a comparison of the culture change in Tonga with that of Samoa shows a similar development and a similar result. The, in part, greater preservation of culture in the latter Archipelago may be traced back, first of all, to the more conservative attitude of the Samoans; on the other hand, this difference may be explained by the absence of strong European influences in the areas in question, quite apart from the multiplicity of imponderables that are often so important in such developments.

B. In the Fiji Islands

F 177 As a further example for comparison let us mention the culture change among the Fijians. Here too we find a simple island-native culture remote from the continents, which came under the impact of the diverse and superior European culture. This Archipelago, however, F [563] [648] in the course of its development, became a British economic colony in which an important third population element (after that of the whites), namely the Indian one, became indigenous and outstripped the native population both numerically and economically.

F 177 648 Naturally, "European culture as a whole" was not transplanted to the Fiji Islands; rather, the natives became acquainted only with individual parts or major segments of it, and the contact, especially in its early phases, was not systematic, though it must be emphasized that British administration after the Islands were taken over sought to preserve not only the trade-policy interests of the whites, but

000 /305 cont./

T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
T F 302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-
593 sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
604 178 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
T F survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
T F kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
585 849 764 177 178 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

T F
/305 cont./

177 178 585 [764] [844]
much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted. In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to

F 583 585
avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these islands than in the other Archipelago.

T F 361 621
While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted, with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

F 621 423 425
The old community -oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is

F 177 463 621
officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamentally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure, some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and have found work in trade or industry, or they have established independent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult

F [171]
to break with the old community life and its customs. This development, which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of the traditional social order.

T F 565 178
With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on

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F /306 cont./

565 these Islands too the chiefs have forfeited their old disciplinary
178 power insofar as they do not hold specific offices in the administration. Yet they still enjoy some privileges; for example, the roko (province chiefs) and the buli (sub-district chiefs) are usually chosen from the hereditary chieftain class and seem to have more practical power than the corresponding Tongan officials. As in Tonga, however, the chiefs play a special role in political life only if they hold a government position. Not only the loss of their old position of power as such, but also the schooling of commoners, the new possibilities for the latter in the economy of the colony, as well as occasional preferential treatment of more capable commoners in government service likewise weaken the general position of the chiefs on these Islands. The common people, however, still have a great respect for the /307/ highest among them, and the class of nobles all have probably kept their old position in the ceremonial life--as in the Tonga Archipelago.

F
642 The Fijians were not fortunate enough to achieve that certain political independence which the Tongans enjoy. Their short-lived
648 kingdom collapsed because Cakobau was unable to gain a powerful position
(643) as did Taufa'ahau (George I) in Tonga, neither in relation to his disunited people nor in relation to the diverse interests and endeavors of the whites for whom the Islands were a promising colonial
F country. But since the old schisms among the Fijian people were
(578) removed, a political unity arose here as well, though it was very dependent on the Colonial Office in London and its governor in Suva. Within a system of "indirect rule" /cited in English/ the Fijians today carry on their local government under the general supervision of the British administration.

000 The old method of land distribution which, on these Islands,

T F 423 177 178 /307 cont./ The old method of land distribution which on these Islands, rested on the principle of group-ownership in pre-European times, has not been changed as was the different system in Tonga where, under considerable European influence, the monopoly of nobles was weakened in this area; in the Fiji Archipelago, native land belongs now, as always, to family groups (mataqali). After the whites took possession of the Islands the natives, of course, unlike the Tongans, lost a great deal of land. But they still own the greater part of the total area, and the British government strives to protect the Fijians from further loss.

F 671 692 177 178 [191] The administration of justice in this Archipelago--as on the Tonga Islands--has changed very much in comparison with the past. The English law (of 1875), which was altered in accordance with local conditions and needs, and some ordinances and decrees (which, in part, are also meant to insure the continuation of the old way of life) are today the bases for adjudication which is carried out by the natives themselves (in minor cases) and by white officials (in the more serious cases).

F 342 177 178 As for the economic life of the Fijians, it is worth mentioning first of all that in their villages they have kept their traditional house construction to a greater extent than the Tongans. Some natives, however, have here too gone over tc covering their old-style houses with corrugated sheet metal or to erecting European-style structures entirely of wood and corrugated sheet metal; they do this partly for prestige reasons (because it is "modern") and partly for convenience because these types are more durable and because they can /308/ thus evade the obligation toward frequent cooperative house-building projects by building their simply wood and corrugated metal houses themselves.

F 177 The household equipment of these natives, like that of the

I /311 cont./

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871 37. Legislative Council, Fiji. Secretary for Fijian
182 Affairs. Annual Report, 1948. Council Paper
F No. 27. p. 8.

(113) The difference to be observed in Tonga in the culture change
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F between the more remote villages, on the one hand, and the towns
184 favorably located with respect to transport facilities, on the other,
369 is, of course, to be noted to an increasing extent in the Fiji
177
178 Colony. The rapid development of overseas contacts and the founding
of industries influence the lives of those who dwell in or near
F important centers. In the urbanlike settlements, especially in the
184 lowlands of Viti Levu, the culture of the Fijians is subject to the
369 greatest influence, and the difficulty of "uniting the two worlds"
177 (which here are actually four because of the Indians and Chinese
living here, besides the Europeans) is greatest for the natives in
F these places. Here one also notes a beginning individualism among the
[181] natives; yet in general the Fijians who have developed an especially
successful initiative show toward their own people /312/ neither
greediness nor stinginess, characteristics which scarcely existed in
F their old native community. In the villages near these centers a
[166] certain unrest has arisen through the exodus of young people who
could not resist the power of attraction of the urbanlike settlements.

F Seen as a whole, there has been no breakdown in the old style
177 of living on the Fiji Islands. After the restless times of the 19th
178 century resulting from the intervention of Europeans, and after the
alarming drop in population a notable, continuous positive development
began which is not very different from that which took place in Tonga.
In comparing the culture change in Tonga with the change in Fijian
culture it is noteworthy that, despite the stronger and more powerful
influence brought to bear on the latter by foreigners, so much
essential age-old tradition in the social life and the means of

F
T /313 cont./
171 A comparison of cultural change in Tonga with the change on the
177 Fiji Islands thus shows a certain similarity of development despite
178 the colonial history of this Archipelago and the great numerical
as well as economic and political superiority of the foreigners.

C. In Buganda (Central Africa)

T
121 In an attempt to interpret the culture change described in Tonga,
177 a comparison with the culture change resulting from European
influences among a non-Oceanic primitive people may also prove useful.
As an example I have chosen the Kingdom of Buganda (42)
on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria, which is likewise a British
G protectorate. The Hamitic pastoral tribes coming from the north /314/
177 in the past also invaded this area inhabited by agricultural Bantu;
144 but here, in contrast to conditions in other African kingdoms formed
by Hamitic conquests, there was a widespread fusion of the two
population elements in which the Hamitic /element/ was soon absorbed.

G Buganda is today one of the four provinces of the Uganda
642 Protectorate; the kingdom is approximately 64-times larger than the
635 land area of the Tonga Archipelago, and in it live more than 800,000
131 Baganda, (43)
161 as well as a smaller group of Indians and relatively few Europeans. (44)

G
[113] 42. Based on L.P. Mair, An African people in the twentieth century. London 1934; H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Uganda 2nd ed. London 1949; H.B. Thomas, The story of Uganda. Oxford 1939; Margaret Trowell and K.P. Wachsmann, Tribal crafts of Uganda. London 1953; Colonial Office, Report of Uganda for the year 1952. London 1953. /all titles cited in English/

162 43. According to the investigation of 1938: 836,091 (Report on Uganda for the year 1952. p. 16).

44. According to the count of 1931: 6587 Indians and 1200 Europeans (Thomas and Scott, Uganda p. 502).

G
291 /317 cont./
177 fabrics in their traditional manner as a cloak or in the shape of an
178 Arabian kanzu, (48)
171

48. Underneath this, perhaps a European shirt and shorts as well, the chiefs more often with long pants under the kanzu and a European jacket over it.

while the women who do not wear bark cloth have extended their old garment up to their shoulders and given it straps and short sleeves. In this way a sort of national costume has been created, comparable to the so popular vala in Tonga.

T In the social realm it is worth noting that polygamy among the
G 595 Baganda, in contrast to conditions in the Tonga Archipelago, has not
178 been entirely given up in its old form, though it has very much
T decreased and its years seem numbered. The Christian moral code, as on
G the South Sea Islands, is by no means strictly followed, and
577 177 illegitimate children are likewise taken into the community without
848 particular discrimination. The Baganda have also proved conservative
T to the extent that they cling, in their fashion, to their old classi-
G 601 ficatory kinship terms, like the Tongans. With regard to stages of life
178 (marriage, birth, death) much that is old has been preserved and
G partly linked with new customs. Thus the traditional bride price
178 583 among this people still plays a very important role, and to legalize
585 a marriage this is more important, even for the most devout, than the
177 church wedding. The customs surrounding the transfer of the bride to
her husband have, however, been changed to a certain extent in keeping
G [844] with the European-Christian conception.--Little seems to have changed
in the customs associated with birth and the treatment of the newborn
T child. Yet here too, as in Tonga, practically every child receives the
G 851 Christian baptism; the old customs of name-giving, which were once
553 important among the Baganda, are being more and more ignored.-With
000 regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,

G /321 cont./
T
436 after having promptly spent it following their cotton harvest.
177 Christianity is today the religion of almost all the Baganda.
G
T It has become for them the obvious way of coming to terms with the
771 supernatural. The Christian religion means a great deal to these
177 natives, they have a similar, precise knowledge of the bible as the
Tongans and--as in that Archipelago--in places where they have no
European supervision they carry on their ritual of worship independently
under the leadership of native Anglican and Catholic clergymen. As
among the Islanders, here too the promise of paradise, as well as the
association of this religion with the glamor of the European, and
finally the wish for social recognition and representation may be the
G chief reasons why the Christian faith was adopted. In Buganda, as in
T the Tonga Archipelago, the old religion is no longer publicly
771 practiced though, according to reports at hand, the conversion of the
177
178 people of this country does not seem to be as complete. Along with
inconsequential remnants of "paganism," which among the Christian
natives are scarcely more important than the surviving remnants of
the old religion in Tonga, /322/ the belief in the spirits of their
ancestors which has been so important in the African kingdom has
been largely preserved, and even the significance of magic powers
and of sorcery could be only weakened by the church and government laws,
but by no means extinguished; this seems noteworthy in view of the
fact that in Tonga the power of the once so all-embracing taboo has
long since been broken and forgotten.

G
T With regard to the transmission of knowledge, conditions in
868 Buganda have changed in similar fashion as in the Tonga Archipelago:
871 Their way of growing into the various tasks of life through simple
177 imitation of older people and without particular systematic instruction has here too been supplemented by a European type of school

G /322 cont./

T 177 them into their culture and finally /323/ regard them as natural possessions. But, like those Islanders, they too are steadfast and conservative in maintaining essential features of their old life style and at the same time they lack understanding of many "improvements" and novel ideas. (51)

51. See their adherence to their own means of subsistence, as well as their non-European attitude towards money.

G T 177 178 The culture change here too caused no collapse of the old way of life, and no obvious cultural decline (in the sense of a disintegration) is to be observed. Basic elements of the old culture have been preserved. The natives seem physically and mentally unimpaired. G T (182) Despite a certain dependence on whites, their old ability to master their environment seems to have been preserved. (52)

52. An independent further development of what was taken over is, however, not to be noted here either.

Though the cultural change does not seem complete by any means, there is a certain stabilization to be noted, and in the newly arisen culture the native element is decidely dominant. Among the reasons for this development one must mention first of all the characteristics of these human beings, the nature and strength of their old culture, the absence of direct forcible intervention by Europeans, as well as their relatively small number in Buganda which has remained a land of natives and has not become a settlement area of whites.

T 3. THE CAUSES UNDERLYING THE COURSE OF THE CULTURE CHANGE IN TONGA

121 177 178 After having discussed in detail the change in Tongan culture and drawn comparisons with the changes in other cultures, we may now, on the basis of this detailed material, present an interpretation of this development, that is to say, a survey of causes.

/325 cont./

177 totality, but rather with disconnected, single culture traits and complexes, much has remained unchanged which /326/ could probably have been altered had the Tongans had a more intimate relationship with the life style of the whites.

177
181 An inhibiting effect on the pace of "Europeanization" of this Archipelago was also the nature of the Tongans. They proved to be self-assured, imperturbable, even-tempered, indifferent and conservative toward many innovations--despite the fact that they were also open-minded. One cannot say that they copied Europeanism blindly; rather, they were often critical and selective. In many areas of their culture they had no interest in, or need for, a fundamental change, (55)

55. For example, means of subsistence (that is, planting, animal husbandry, basic diet), style of living, kinship and community system, customs connected with stages of life.

and, thanks to their dispostion and attitude, they did not come to depend very much on whites, but retained their practical abilities with which to master their environment. (56)

56. Planting, fishing, house-building, boat-building.

[153] Mentally they proved scarcely suitable as workers for larger European enterprises.

177
13 Unfavorable geographical conditions likewise impeded a more extensive cultural change. Fundamental, restricting factors are the relatively isolated location of these islands and their comparatively small land areas which contain no enticing riches for whites. The soil, the climate and a certain water shortage were not favorable for various cultivated plants that were introduced; some planting methods of Europeans are not feasible here, and a more extensive raising of heavy livestock seems to be impossible.

177
178 As a result of special circumstances, moreover, European

/326 cont./

177 influences were moderated or prevented altogether. Thus the unity
178 and self-contained nature of ancient Tongan culture is significant. Europeans have, for example, up to now been unable to change the highly developed fishing methods of these natives, but only to supplement them, and replacing the traditional cultivation of tubers with other food plants seems scarcely to be recommended. Naturally, in view of the strong feeling of kinship and community, no actual European type of economic individualism has arisen among these natives. The fact that the raw materials for their familiar plaiting, knotting and barkcloth work, for their traditional house construction and their customary food are to be obtained in their own country and by means of well-known procedures has contributed largely to the preservation of ancient Tongan traditions in these areas. Moreover, among the "particular impeding circumstances," a /327/ countercurrent actually called forth by the European influences seems worth mentioning: the change in the social stratification of the people led to a revival and intensification among the commoners of old customs (at marriages and deaths, for example).

177 Finally we must not forget that for geographical as well as cultural reasons some European cultural assets are not usable by these Islanders and were therefore simply not taken over.

Furthermore, it would scarcely have been possible to work out a European type culture from the parts and complexes offered; the incorporation and integration of what has been incorporated into their old life, that continues to be the mainstay /of the present culture/, is really in terms of what is possible under the circumstances: as close as one can get.

Thus the entire development may be explained on the basis of the nature of the European impact (pressure, proposal, example--

/328 cont./

177 natives who obviously support the tendency widely held in some fields
554 to cling to the traditional.

177 The relatively smooth course of this development whose present
648 outcome shows no particular external or internal tensions or conflicts, can also be explained by the fact that in this Kingdom the Protectorate power did not proceed as did some European colonial governments in Africa: In Tonga there was no tendency to keep the natives "backward"; the imparting of European culture was not markedly selective, (58) and there is no obvious imbalance in the give and take on the part of
177 the protecting power. The great expectations of the natives in regard to schooling and other acquisitions of knowledge are not being thwarted by the whites but by the islands' limitations. There is no particular deliberate effort to restrict the opportunities of the Tongans in religion, law, public life and economy. Rather, the
[641] natives have equal rights, indeed they often enjoy privileged positions in the country. Hence there has been no revolutionary change in the sense of a denial of civil rights.

The entire development was also promoted by the intelligent and, to the European, in many respects not too strange or incomprehensible attitude of these natives (who are in many ways also easily led); moreover, since they long ago gave up their old religion and their belief in the taboo, they do not harbor any ancient magical conceptions (like so many Africans).

Inasmuch as the Tongans in their kingdom themselves carry out many measures recommended by the whites, the course of the culture change
[178] is not all too rapid. A non-European calm still prevails on these islands; while many ancient traditions are being maintained, new things are adopted and integrated, and there is enough time to let the new culture, in which the indigenous and the foreign are happily blended, grow.

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58. Except for the prohibition against alcohol.

/328 cont./

177 178 The harmless course of the cultural change among this people is based on this fact of the combination, the blending of European and Tongan culture traits. Such a union of the old /329/ with the new would not have been possible, however, if Tongan culture had not been so flexible and adaptable, owing to which it was able to take in and incorporate this wealth of important and unimportant parts and complexes of European culture without breaking down or indeed showing disastrous tensions. Not even as a result of the radical changes affecting the rule of the nobility have there been any major conflicts during the last hundred years.

Another important reason for this positive course of Tongan cultural change is the fact that in the final analysis the natives themselves exhibit a positive attitude toward it; on the whole, their new culture, their new life seems to give them complete satisfaction.

[191] The comparisons drawn in the preceding chapter between the Tongan cultural change and that which took place among the Samoans, the Fijians and the Baganda show that the development in Tonga is nothing extraordinary, and that the ability of cultural adaptation that we have observed among the natives of these islands, along with their continuing self-affirmation, is not unique. The foregoing investigations furnish proof that, amidst a very broadly conceived similarity of preconditions, a cultural change that probably sometimes differs in detail, but is nonetheless similar in the totality of its development, can also take place elsewhere.

We see from these comparisons that the apparently so easily alterable external appearance of natives (that is, hairstyle, clothing, as well as adornment) undergoes considerable changes, that other material cultural possessions regarded as impressive

/329 cont./

177 178 from the example set by Europeans (for instance, tools, household equipment) are happily taken over, that the old form of government (with its more or less absolute power of chiefs, administration of justice and land distribution) succumbs to the pressure of whites as soon as this is resolutely carried out, and that religion and with it art and knowledge for the same reason undergo a great change. 177 As a result of the inclusion of these peoples in the European economic and administrative system the natives begin to acquire money through specific harvest sales and to use it in their fashion, they learn new professions and experience the opening-up of their homeland through modern traffic routes and methods of transportation used by whites.

177 178 In various areas of these native cultures the European element has not had such far-reaching consequences, and the old and the new still exist /330/ side by side, or have achieved a temporary or even definitive fusion; we experience this, for example, in bodily grooming and health care, as well as in household equipment and, very significantly, in the customs surrounding the stages of life, namely, birth, marriage and death, and likewise in the field of name-giving.

Some cultural traits, finally, seem scarcely changed. These include the more intimate life of natives (conjugal and family life (59)

[797] 59. If it does not openly violate the demands of the missionaries.

and the community system), (60)

60. Insofar as it was highly developed in pre-European times.

style of living, means of sustenance (planting, basic diet) and the division of labor according to sex.

/330 cont./

177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

177 121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically; for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

177 178 181 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

177 171 181 (113) The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

61. R. Linton, Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

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[113)

/330 cont./

A study in acculturation," *American Anthropologist* New Series. Vol. 46, No. 2. Part 2 (Memoir 64) 1944. p. 65.

is probably in part simply /331/ based on rational considerations according to which greater disadvantages than advantages were to be expected from the change, or it may be partly a question of indolence or rigidity. On the whole, however, conservatism here means a feeling of steadfastness in the traditional and habitual because it is one's own to which one is rooted and to which one clings because one draws from it a goodly share of strength, inner security and self-assurance. Why do the Tongan women still subject themselves to the arduous and lengthy process of tapa-making and mat-plaiting? Why, with their relatively high income, do they not instead buy more durable European cloth which they can obtain without too much trouble? Why do they still plait their mats with great care and do not make them in a much simpler and less meticulous way? They probably do this not only because it happens to be their tradition and a taken-for-granted habit and gives them social recognition, but because they consciously or unconsciously feel that their very own way of life is bound up with these things, (62) and because they would perhaps be unsure of themselves and feel a certain void if they should break with this tradition and if the floor of their huts and their sleeping places were made only with European material with which they will probably never be able to establish a true inner relationship. Primitive peoples will guard and be able to maintain such an emotional attachment to what is old against the so powerful European influences only if their character

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62. Many Tongans do not fail to point out proudly to whites who are interested in their way of life and their work what is "*faka Tonga*" (Tongan way of doing things).

/331 cont./

177 is as strong as that of the Tongans. This seems to be the peculiar
178 nature and significance of the conservatism that we have so often
181 come across in the various chapters of this essay.

000 [pp. 332-351 on the general problem of cultural change have not been translated.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

ABSTRACT

POPULATION, AGRICULTURE AND URBANIZATION IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

By

William Fenton Clark

161 Prior to this investigation it was believed that alterations
178 in the population profile and agricultural economy of Tonga have resulted in a growing social, economic and nutritional instability throughout the Kingdom. Natural population increase and internal migration have contributed to the urbanization of approximately fifty percent of the nation's total population. Increases in population are also noted to be accompanied by subsequent increases in pressure upon available agricultural acreage, resulting in a growing number of a landless agrarian populace. In addition, increases in the cash income of those Tongan farmers who enjoy secure land tenure have been accompanied by increases in migration to urban areas and
121 absentee landholding. It was hypothesized that these demographic
178 and economic shifts result in a continuation of rapid urbanization and a subsequent growing malnutrition among the urban population. In addition, it was proposed that the increase of cash cropping replacing traditional subsistence agriculture has resulted in a reduction of domestic foodstuff production in ratio to total population requirements and a subsequent dependency upon imported

[p. i-A]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

William Fentcn Clark

121 foodstuffs. Demographically, continued urbanization was perceived
178 to be strongly correlated with undernourishment and malnutrition.

Field investigations supported the above contentions.
121 Increases in the absolute total of agricultural production have been
178 nullified by population growth. In addition, growing landlessness
433 (due to population growth and the mismanagement of the national land system), absentee landholding and the status ascribed to food imports have hastened a reduction in domestic food production.
121 Examination of preschool children conclusively showed that altera-
[178] tions in dietary quality correlated with urbanization have resulted
[145] in retarded physical development. Continued alterations in the
[146] demographic and economic structure of Tonga are perceived to be a critical factor in all future private and governmental planning.

[p i-B]

121 these conditions may be found in many parts of the world such as the
islands which dot the oceans. One such microcosmic situation may
be observed in the Kingdom of Tonga, which is located as an island
chain in the Southwest Pacific Ocean. (Note general mapping of
161 Tonga, Figure 4, Appendix A.)[A] Population growth and diminishing
178 agricultural food production, per capita, as a ratio to total popu-
171 lation, are as serious a threat to national stability in Tonga, as
433 in the more publicized nations of the world. (The reader, if not
000 familiar with the more basic geographic considerations regarding
Tonga, may, at this point, wish to review Appendix A.)[B]

161 Even though these conditions exist in Tonga, as well as in
178 other populated island groups, it must be understood that while many
171 of the Pacific islands are now facing a land-population growth cri-
174 sis, only recently have these conditions arisen. Anthropological
data indicate that historically the Pacific Basin is a region of
relatively recent human settlement (Harris 1966, p. 13). In the
case of Polynesia, Tonga, Samoa and the Society Islands formed the
core from which the population of other island groups originated
(Emory 1974, pp. 732-745). The Tongas were settled probably no
174 earlier than 1100 B.C. The significance of this situation is that
167 when religious quarrels, conditions of war, or overpopulation arose,
groups of island people migrated to other islands in, seemingly, an
161 ocean of innumerable islands (Harris 1966, p. 14). However, in the
167 twentieth century, uninhabited island groups are no longer to be
found and since 1945, overpopulation has become a growing force,

A[See Category 102, pp. 160-164--Analyst.]
B[See various 13 Categories, pp. 157-170--Analyst.]

000 expanded agricultural base and a program of commodity imports from nations still producing a food surplus; or (3) approach a level of population at which point natural controls (i.e., malnutrition and/or starvation) set in to bring the population into balance with the supporting capacity of the land.

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[369] In addition to the basic difficulty of population-food imbalance, Tonga must also contend with the physical shifting of its population from rural to urban settings, and the economic shift of elements of the population from a traditional subsistence agriculture to a cash economy. Both of these changes in the character of Tongan population tend to aggravate the overall population-food and agricultural imbalance.

369
171 Rates of urbanization in the entire South Pacific region are among the highest in the world, when considered as a percentage of total population. If one includes the nations of Australia and New Zealand, the peoples of the South Pacific are the most urbanized in the world on a proportional basis (Urban Problems in the South Pacific, 1967, p. 2; Urbanization in the South Pacific, 1962, p. 1). Tonga, since the end of World War II, has seen rapid growth in its capital city, which has nearly tripled in size.

369
[182] This changing characteristic of the population has in itself had a significant impact on the natural environment of Tonga. In addition, as urbanization continues to expand, social issues including housing, public health, and sanitation grow proportionally.
[312] As in most other island environments in the South Pacific, water for

369 drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance
182 with growing urban population.

178 The process of urbanization has several causes which are
[179] significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s,
[171] the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have
been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments
in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in
178 Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of
166 the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activities
369 [464] and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment
in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly
178 the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongataou and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement
369 has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also
433 decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed
[241] production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural
population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing
amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because
of the rate of expansion in Tongan population, total rural population
has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population
continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and
urban population is rapidly expanding.

369 The second important result of urbanization, without con-
178 sidering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance
439 upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967,
p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production
of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

439 Many, though not all, of these imports are of little nutritive value
262 and may be actually detrimental to the health of the people. In
262 Tonga, for example, a recent French survey of the capital city
178 revealed a dramatic increase in the consumption of high energy
273 foods, such as sugar, alcohol, and highly processed foods. As a
178 result, the French study concluded, there was a rapid rise in the
164 incidence of dental caries within the Tongan population, accompanied
146 by a general decrease in the overall nutritional status, especially
among preschool children (Hansell 1962).

439 This is not to imply that all food imports are of little
262 nutritive value or that Tonga should strive to achieve self-
000 sufficiency in food production. However, it is clear that some
form of control, governing the quantity and quality of certain
foods, should be considered. Such action should be aimed at
improving the quality of imports, including flour, meats, and
grains. Consideration of the nutritional status of urban populations is advisable in view of the rapid expansion of this population segment and the increasing utilization of imported foodstuffs.

178 The economic shift of the populace is another major cause
369 of urbanization. This shift has been most notable in the agricul-
178 tural sector of Tonga's national economic structure. The effects
369 upon agriculture are felt in two significant areas. As alternatives
241 to agriculture are found in cash employment in urban areas, the
[439] cash income of the people involved increases and imported foods,
[262] often seen as status symbols, are sought as such. Therefore, the
per capita urban demand for indigenous foodstuffs tends to decline,

178
369 if imported foods are available and cash is on hand with which to
241 purchase them (Horine 1967, pp. 43-46). In addition, as the pos-
439 sibilities of cash employment in urban areas increases, the popula-
[262] tion is less inclined to work their traditional urban gardens.
Rather, they prefer to raise their visible socioeconomic status
through the use of imports. This subsequently reduces further the
amount of foodstuffs produced in the nation.

241 In rural areas of Tonga, major portions of the remaining
178 agricultural sector are changing to a cash orientation. The govern-
241 ment requires a substantial portion of a farm holding to produce
439 export products (or at least be planted in such), principally coco-
245 nuts or bananas. However, many farm plots are totally devoted to
the production of crops for export (Kennedy 1961, p. 61). Major
cash crops include copra and sweet banana, which together account
241 for 80 percent of Tonga's exports. As is the case in urban areas,
178 as the cash income of farmers increases, the incentive for producing
agricultural food staples decreases. This situation will probably
continue as long as market prices for Tongan exports remain high and
the status associated with material products, including imported
foodstuffs, exists.

121 Therefore, one may hypothesize that as Tonga's population continues to increase, urbanization will increase, agricultural production of foodstuffs per person will decrease, the dependency being placed upon food imports will continue to grow, and the nutritional status of particularly urban populations will probably decline.

175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and
trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
721 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
669
[177] from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
[411] small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
361 all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
178 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this tradi-
722 tional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
361 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
722 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
241 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated
between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded,
planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island
groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement

178 pattern. Villages, resembling the modern concept of population
361 grouping, replaced the fortified structures, often being constructed
on the original fortress site (i.e., Feletoa and Neiafu).

423 It was during this post-civil war period that the present
[241] agricultural system, based upon land tenure, was initiated. Under a decree issued by Tupou I, farmland was divided into allotments of approximately eight and one-quarter acres, or 100 fathoms square. This 'api tukuhau, or rural allocation system, was available to all males over 16 years of age. In addition, the 'api kola, or urban allocation system, provided each family with two-fifths of an acre within a village, for housing. An alternative to the above permitted an individual to waive his rural and urban allotments, in exchange for a larger rural allotment of 12 3/8 acres.

361 The bonds of communal living insured the survival of this
nuclear village pattern, despite the fact that some individuals
[484] resided a substantial distance from their farm holdings. Within
modern Tonga, this pattern still exists as a strongly bound unit,
even though this often necessitates as much as 20 miles of travel
from village to farm acreage (Kennedy 1958, p. 165).

Twentieth Century Population Settlement

361
162 The population of twentieth century Tonga can be divided into three groups, by pattern of settlement: (1) villages, (2) towns, and (3) miscellaneous groupings, such as school and church facilities.

621 Although the village concept is relatively new to Tongan culture, it serves today as the center of most social and economic

166 162 maldistribution of resident population, with over 50 percent now
241 living on Tongatapu. This situation is compounded by the decreas-
● 178 ing use of arable farmland and a subsequent reduction in the produc-
tion of indigenous foodstuffs (Fox 1972, p. 5).

311 Several Tongan geographic features are influential in the
[133] distribution of the Tongan population. The western chain of islands
in the Tongan group are volcanic and therefore have been settled
only intermittently. These islands, usually smaller in size, are
less densely settled than the eastern coral islands. Factors, such
as the lack of permanent fresh water, and land too steep for anything
beyond scattered cultivation, severely limit their settlement poten-
[133] tial. In addition, occasional volcanic eruptions further deter
settlement. During the civil war period of Tongan history, most of
the western chain islands supported sizable populations. However,
only Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu continued to support communities
311 into the twentieth century (Walsh 1970, p. 30). A volcanic eruption
166 on Niuafo'ou in 1946 forced its evacuation and most of the village
[133] population from this island resettled on 'Eua. (Niuafo'ou was
resettled in 1958.) Recent attempts to settle Kao and Tofua in
Ha'apai have met with varied success. Only Tofua appears, at
present, able to sustain a reasonable population. However, plans
and proposals are occasionally presented for the permanent settle-
ment of Late and Koa, also in Ha'apai.

161 The concentration of Tongan population within towns and
162 villages is expected to continue to be a significant feature of
166 Tongan population distribution. Similarly, a growth in the number

241 ranged from spontaneous growth to a safeguard against periods of
182 food shortage.

241 Entering land into fallow was found to be a gradual process. Tubers, and occasionally bananas and plantain, may continue to be harvested from the plot for several years after the cessation of active cultivation. Coconuts are also produced in fallowing plots, independent of the bush fallow system.

Increasingly, in more densely populated areas of the Kingdom, this combination of fallow and cropping is being practiced, whereby a farmer plants cassava on the fallow plot and allows grasses and weeds to grow unhindered. The only incidence of weeding is at the time of planting and then in only the immediate planting site. This activity may last for several years, or occasionally for the entire fallow period, followed by the planting of yams or
[237] taro. Only in western Tongatapu was the addition of any fertilizer
(an occasional application of small quantities of pig manure)
noted.

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[182] Fallowing is traditional to Tongan agriculture. However, due to population growth in many areas of the Kingdom, increasing demand for land is modifying the fallow system. Surveys indicated an average fallow time of three to six years. It was the opinion of over 81 percent of those farmers interviewed, and who had land in fallow, that the average fallowing time is evidencing a slow but
[434] steady decrease. Farmers are finding it necessary to devote more
of their acreage to some form of semi-permenant cultivation, in order to meet subsistence requirements, or to secure an adequate level of cash income through local sale of produce.

241 factor in Tongan society reduces the incentive for increased
241 production. Individuals who manage to significantly increase their
571 production of crops or agricultural profits are under social pres-
426 sure to supply loans and miscellaneous obligations to close rela-
tives and friends. This practice severely reduces the independence
of the farmer. Several informants stated that they would not
increase crop production because neighbors and relatives subse-
426 quently "borrow" all extra produce. Although lending is a tradition
556 which increases the social status of the lender, resentment toward
178 this social obligation is increasingly expressed among younger land-
holders, who place higher esteem on cash than tradition.

241 At present, the typical farmer appears to work his 'api an
461 average of 18 to 20 hours per week. The remaining time is occupied
[125] by a variety of additional activities. Although statistical evidence
of the duration of each activity was not collected, three activities
241 appeared to be dominant. Owing to the distribution of population
461 and the subsequent pattern of settlement, a farmer often spends
484 several hours per day traveling to and from his 'api. Travel
extremes from zero to 21 miles were reported by interviewees. Occa-
sionally, informants reported leasing land on nearby islands, which
necessitated travel overland, as well as by boat. However, an
average of 6.75 miles was determined to be the distance necessary
[494] for the typical farmer to travel to his 'api. Although the principal
islands of the Kingdom have bus transportation, the busses average
no more than 15 miles per hour, thereby consuming at least an hour
of travel per day for the average farmer. Frequently, walking for

228 facilities are governmentally controlled. Thus, most fishermen
[655] catch only that which will satisfy family needs, plus a small
quantity for immediate sale.

434 Data determining income levels from all types of cash food production (including fishing) was collected during household surveys.[1] Range of income was from zero to $1,200 per year, with a mean of $480 per year for those farmers selling produce. Sale of copra results in the largest cash income, with vegetables (all types) second and bananas third.[2]

434 During survey discussions concerning income, it became
178 apparent that cash incomes have increased substantially over the
past several years. As a result, Tongan farmers are enjoying an
increase in purchasing power, reflected in the purchase of non-
traditional items, such as imported foodstuffs or the purchase of
[439] food items from local producers. However, while few farmers are
totally dependent upon this new cash-based living, the significant
[262] increase in the use of canned goods, sugar, bread and assorted
imports is an obvious indication of the direction of this trend.

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[128] [1] The average Tongan farmer keeps no record of his yearly or monthly earnings and survey information probably reflects mere estimations. In addition, in several instances, it was apparent that income levels were being exaggerated or minimized for one or more reasons. Although obviously skewed data was excluded from survey data compilation, it is reasonable to assume a margin of error still exists. For this reason, only range and mean of income are used, in an attempt to minimize the effects of misleading data.

[2] The other major contributors to the household cash income include the sale of handicrafts, plus income derived from relatives or overseas sources.

434 (This concept, which is becoming more notable in all segments of
178 Tongan population, is analyzed within the following chapters.)

241 In summary, while many aspects of Tongan agriculture have
178 remained basically unchanged through history, there have been
several significant alterations with respect to population growth,
178 land distribution and cropping practices. The most significant of
434 these changes has been the development of cash cropping and the
[241] subsequent rise in purchasing power of the average Tongan farmer.
[439] An indication of these alterations is the increased incidence of
[262] material items within the household, plus reliance upon imported food
products, such as tinned meat, fish, bread and sugar.

245 The continually good market for copra and coconut products
241 has resulted in many 'apis being planted almost entirely with palms,
[178] and less production of traditional foodstuffs. In addition, in
densely populated areas where food crops are interplanted with palms,
the competition for sunlight, soil nutrients, and moisture insures
significantly lower yields from food plants.

178 Low production yields associated with decreases in soil
241 fertility are frequently the result of the shift to a more continuous exploitative cropping system. This change is stimulated by the
178 Tongan farmer's desire for increased cash income, and by increasing
241 population pressure on land available for cultivation. This popu-
161 lation pressure is intensified by the migration of individuals to
Tongatapu from the other island groups, especially Ha'apai. The
Tongan situation is becoming increasingly intensive, with often a
crop/fallow period ratio of one to one, and a supported population

241 density in excess of 600 persons per square mile, in some regions. ●178 161 Surveys determining fallow periods evidenced a marked decrease in fallow time in Ha'apai and densely settled portions of Tongatapu, 241 and a subsequent lengthening of the cropping cycle. In many cases, cropping is continuous, considering the frequent practice of sparsely planting fallow acreage with tubers.

241 242 The use of fertilizers necessary in offsetting the nutrient depleting effect of intensive cropping is not financially feasible nor understood by the typical Tongan farmer. The issue of maintaining soil fertility is of critical concern to the few agricultural and soil technicians in Tonga. However, owing to prohibitive cost, scarcity, and lack of knowledge, it is expected that most Tongan farmers will continue to rely upon the fallow system for replenishing soil nutrients.

241 244 178 [262] The problems of soil fertility and land availability in Tonga have resulted in the increased cultivation and household reliance upon taro and cassava as major food staples.[1] Cassava represents the best example of the variation in food cropping 241 244 brought about by increasing pressure upon the land. In a status ranking of tubers grown in Tonga, cassava is found at or near the bottom. However, even though the least desirable, cassava is the

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[1] Both tubers were introduced into Tonga in the nineteenth century, although a variety of taro was cultivated in Tonga prior to that period. The introduced taro varieties are more tolerant of dry, upland conditions, as opposed to the marsh requirements of the earlier species. Today most taro is cultivated without a marsh environment. Cassava is an introduced food crop. Of the cultivated tubers, cassava is lowest in status and its increasing cultivation is due to necessity, rather than any growth in popularity.

241 244 easiest to cultivate, plant or harvest, requiring very little care for a high yield. In addition, of the tubers grown in Tonga, cassava is the least demanding upon soil fertility and is the most tolerant of drought. Survey data indicated that cassava is cultivated the most in the densely populated portions of the islands or in those areas where land availability is limited.

262 146 The increasing reliance upon cassava presents a potential nutritionally detrimental situation. Cassava as food is nutritionally unbalanced in several ways, particularly in protein content. Protein derived from cassava is deficient in the sulfur essential amino acids. Therefore, most cassava protein, low in total value to begin with, is unavailable for use by the human body. The consumption of cassava, in lieu of more nutritionally balanced foods, could result in protein deficiency in several segments of Tongan population, including pregnant women and preschool children.

241 244 [178] The increase in cassava cultivation has seemingly brought about a corresponding decrease in the cultivation of yams. Though the yam is the most prestigious of the major tubers, yams are a much more labor intensive crop than cassava, requiring intensive soil preparation, careful planting, weeding and harvesting. In addition, yams are more demanding on soil fertility, and with increasing cash cropping and decreasing land availability, less land is suitable for yam cultivation. The trend toward decreasing fallow periods does not permit sufficient soil nutrient accumulation for favorable yam growing conditions.

241 Land tenure is also related to changes in the Tongan agri-
423 cultural system. The land tenure system in Tonga is the cause of
considerable social dissatisfaction and economic inefficiency.
Farmers are reluctant to invest significant quantities of labor or
capital in land, until secure tenure has been established, thereby
[565] reducing productivity levels. Since more than 50 percent of
Tonga's tillable acreage is owned by royalty or nobility, the land
available for crop production is severely limited. It is a general
opinion in Tonga that land shortage is the major restraint upon
improving agricultural productivity. However, land shortage in
absolute terms is not the case. The shortage of acreage is in
that which is made available to Tongan farmers by the nobility and
royalty.

241 Tongan social and cultural traditions are also an influen-
tial force upon agriculture. For example, many surveyed farmers
expressed a reluctance to increase production because of the cor-
responding increase in social obligations which would offset the
[426] effort. This custom of "borrowing" cash or crops, with infrequent
repayment, has caused many farmers to purposely curtail production.
In addition, growing urbanization has had an enormous impact upon
Tongan agriculture.

241 Despite the above, Tongan economy remains tied to agricul-
433 ture. This fact is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future,
178 despite continuing population pressure, alterations in cropping
patterns, and the increasing consumption of imported foodstuffs.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 Personal observations, survey data and research indicate that the
178 agricultural future of Tonga will be one of continued drain upon
433 soil fertility, decreasing production rates per man hour in food
crop cultivation, and increasing reliance upon cash cropping to
satisfy the needs of an agrarian population.

000
369 areas and in amusement facilities. This situation A is often blamed
674 for the rapid rise in crime in Nuku'alofa. Burglary is the most
[178] frequent offense, although the incidence of fighting, prostitution, and petty theft have recently evidenced significant increases. Subsequently, this continuous migration of young Tongans has become a concern at all levels of government in the Kingdom (Report of the Department of Justice 1973).

369 The most influential urban factor attracting rural indi-
166 viduals to Nuku'alofa is the opportunity of improved education.
871 Nearly all of the secondary schools are on Tongatapu and most of
[368] these are in Nuku'alofa. The fact that substantial education is usually unnecessary for village life, and that there are few opportunities for gaining urban employment, is of little consequence in deterring this desire. As mentioned previously, families often entirely abandon their village residence in order to move into
166 the city and acquire a better education for the children. Fre-
[871] quently, this migration is intended to be temporary. However, as the older children finish their education, the younger children begin. In addition, the older children often marry and, as a result,
871 permanent residency is established. Tongans perceive education to
555 be symbolic of prestige, even though the knowledge gained will be put to little use. Educational attainment is considered to be the simplest and most direct means to upward social movement.

166 The rural factors contributing to expanded urbanization are
241 almost entirely related to the system of land tenure and agriculture.
[369] Pressure of population upon land resources has been shown to exist
[161]

A [i.e., the high incidence of unemployment among youths in urban areas.--Analyst.]

369 596 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household
593 is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly
591 urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating rela-
166 tives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbaniza-
tion was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to
166 economic and social pressures for education, employment and the
prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the tra-
ditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are
indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are
expected to continue.

436 With the development of cash cropping and a greater depend-
178 ency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential
to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obli-
gations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is
also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence
178 needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase
241 cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation
182 from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency
upon the land for production of food and material necessities.
[458] These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World
[731] War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and
hurricanes.

369 While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to
166 most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor,
[464] sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VII

NUTRITIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE

369 Investigations in Tonga, presented in the previous chapters, indicated that agriculture, land and population are major contributors to the urbanization process. There remains to be discussed the fundamental subsistence of those residing within the urban environment. Public health, housing, water supply, waste disposal and disease vectors are only a few of the problems encountered in 121 massive urbanization. However, of particular interest to this 146 research are those factors altering the nutritional patterns of the urbanite. Specifically, the degree of nutritional gradient between rural and urban populations is perceived to be important and an issue largely neglected in considerations of Pacific island urbanization.

146 At present, the Tonga Islands are relatively devoid of recorded malnutrition, when compared to selected nations of Africa, 178 Asia and South America. However, a pattern of development in 146 Nuku'alofa, similar to the urban centers of other regions, is becoming more apparent. The continued urbanization of Tonga's population, approaching 50 percent of the nation's total, frequently is accomplished at considerable cost to family health and welfare.

146 The traditional food patterns of the Tongan are nutri-262 tionally balanced. Fruits and root vegetables provide sources of

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262 calories, vitamins and minerals, as do nuts and shellfish. However,
146 this balance in the average Tongan diet has recently undergone
262 significant change. Particularly since World War II, imported
178 cereal products are replacing the traditional vegetables, while
tinned varieties of meat and fish are replacing fresh sources.
146 However, survey results indicated that this dependency upon
262 imported food products is more pronounced in urban areas, especially
369 Nuku'alofa.

146 The history of Tonga, as well as the generalized South Pacific, shows the classical forms of malnutrition to be very uncommon.
[757] Accounts of folk medicine reveal very few treatments for the symptoms of malnutrition (Harr'e 1973, p. 86). Similarly, more recent health and nutritional surveys, conducted by the South Pacific Health Service during the 1950s and including those by Langley (1952), and Whiteman (1956), did not note significant nutritional variations between rural and urban populations. However, rapid population expansion in conjunction with the developing of urbanizaton, during the 1960s and 1970s, necessitated a reexamination of Tonga in terms of undernourishment and classic malnutrition. Investigations by Hansell (1962) reported that up to 15 percent of households contacted by the Tongan Service for the Protection of Mothers and Children evidenced some signs of protein-calorie malnutrition (Hansell 1962, p. 288). More recently, Jansen (1973) reported that protein-calorie malnutrition is becoming a more frequent occurrence within Tonga, with 55 cases reported in 1971. Malnutrition was

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

146 178 369 Attributing this condition^A to the effects of urbanization and continued in-migration from rural areas of Tonga, the prevalent factors of overpopulation, pressure upon domestic agriculture and the continued development of a cash crop economy assume a new significance. Tongan society, already approaching 50 percent urbanization, has reached a critical stage during which the future health and well-being of the population will be determined.

A[i.e., the poor nutritional status of urban children--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Summary

121 The objectives of this research were threefold:

1. To assess alterations in the population profile of Tonga (i.e., natural increase, internal migration and urbanization).
2. To determine the influence of population growth, land tenure and the development of cash cropping upon the agricultural economy of Tonga.
3. To determine the degree to which urbanization has altered the nutrition status of the Tongan people.

Prior to fulfilling the above objectives, it was hypothesized that:

1. Increases in population are accompanied by subsequent increases in (a) pressure upon agricultural lands, (b) population migration, and (c) urbanization.
2. Increases in cash income among agricultural producers are accompanied by subsequent increases in migration to urban areas, and decreases in agricultural production of food crops in ratio to total national population.
3. Increases in urbanization are accompanied by subsequent increases in reliance upon imported foodstuffs, and decreases in domestic food production and nutritional status.

Data acquired during field investigations supported the above hypotheses. A condition of increasing urbanization in Tonga was found to be the result of (1) natural population growth within

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369 urban areas, (2) displaced individuals migrating due to increased
161 population pressure on agricultural land, and (3) migration of
166 those rural individuals with sufficient income from cash cropping
178 enterprises. (The above is summarized within Figure 2).

178 Despite increases in the absolute quantity of domestic food
121 production, research results indicated that population growth more
241 than nullifies these gains. This situation is aggravated by the
withdrawal of acreage from domestic food production resultant from
(1) expanded cash cropping, and (2) increasing absentee landholding.
[439] The ensuing gap between population and domestic food needs
requires that Tonga import large quantities of foodstuffs (Table 20).[A]

121 Further investigation revealed that the consequences of
178 urbanization in Tonga are (1) decreased domestic food production
146 per capita, and (2) retarded physical development of preschool
369 children most likely due to inadequate dietary quality, as shown
121 in Table 21, and Table 28 (p.168).[B] However, in order to strengthen
the reliability of the preceding hypotheses, it is recommended that
they be tested in relation to alternative societies.

Implications

241 The Tongan social structure and systems of land tenure and agriculture, in combination with expanding urbanization, require that Tongan governmental officials realize the vital role of agriculture in the Tongan economy. To date, the Kingdom lacks any other alternative resources. Thus, care must be taken to stabilize and revitalize agriculture and domestic food production.

A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]
B [See Category 146, p. 136 and 188--Analyst.]

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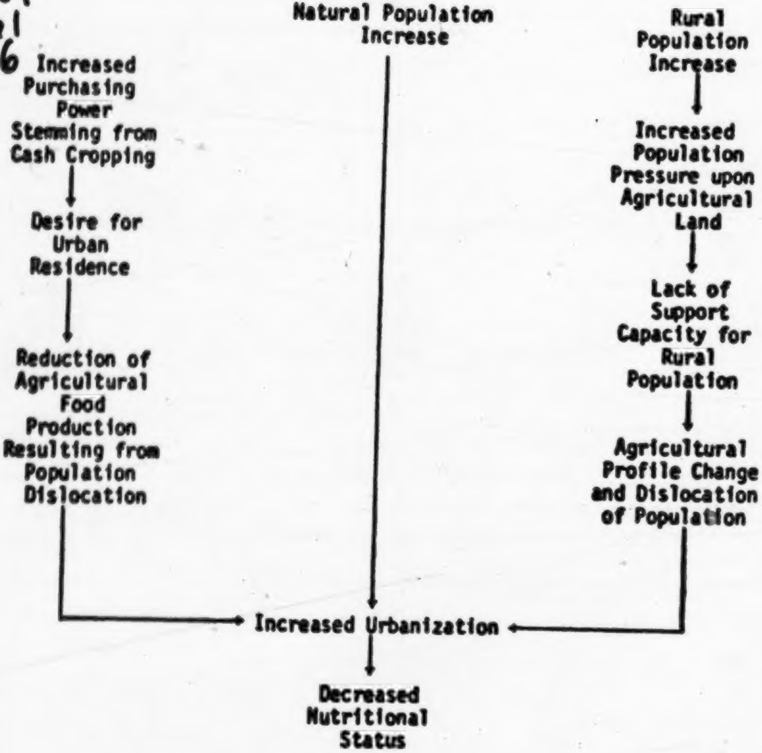
Increased Purchasing Power Stemming from Cash Cropping
Desire for Urban Residence
Reduction of Agricultural Food Production Resulting from Population Dislocation
Natural Population Increase
Rural Population Increase
Increased Population Pressure upon Agricultural Land
Lack of Support Capacity for Rural Population
Agricultural Profile Change and Dislocation of Population
Increased Urbanization
Decreased Nutritional Status

Figure 2.--Urbanization: Kingdom of Tonga

313 sector is directed to the construction of banana cases and local
313 housing construction. It should be noted, however, that since
654 1954, the Tongan Department of Agriculture has begun a small scale
reforestation program designed to determine the feasibility of
developing this as an exportable economic resource (Great Britain
Colonial Office 1956-64, p. 22).

241 Other species of vegetation which are culturally important
to Tongans are those which produce the majority of the nation's
food. These include the breadfruit, coconut, banana and various
root crops.

433 Until recently, Tonga has had the distinction of being one
of the few Pacific territories which could be called a self-
supporting community (Harris 1966, p. 127). Economically, Tonga is
essentially an agricultural country. There are no notable developed
mineral resources and the only industry consists of minor processing
439 facilities for agricultural products. Economic necessities from
outside the islands are paid for by exports of bananas and coconut
457 products in most cases. Until recently, Tonga enjoyed a favorable
balance of trade. However, this balance has tended to reverse in
the past few years with the tendency toward larger and larger defi-
cits as shown in Table 20.[A]

511 The population in the past has been in the position to plant
[438] a large portion of their food requirements. Any cash requirements
were usually provided through the sale of bananas and coconuts to
regional collection points (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64,
511 p. 11). This subsistence system is rapidly altering due to increasing
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[A] [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

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178 pressures of population upon the land. The result of this pressure
[439] is seen in part in a growing dependency on imported foodstuffs.

457 Exports have been the only significant source of income
for the Kingdom, though earnings from tourism and overseas remittances
439 are becoming increasingly important. Of this trade, copra, bananas,
and pineapples represent the only items traded in quantity internationally. Copra currently accounts for more than 70 percent of the total exports and, therefore, the export income of Tonga is largely at the mercy of fluctuations in world copra prices (Kennedy 1968, p. 20; Britten 1968, p. 53).

439 A diversification of export crops is possible under existing
[131] environmental conditions. However, the isolation of Tonga from international trade routes coupled with distance from markets make large scale diversification unlikely in the near future.

423 Fundamental in the economy of any agricultural nation is the
[643] policy formation regulating land use by the native element. In Tonga, ultimate title to all land rests with the King. However, every individual is entitled to an eight and one-qaurter acre farm lot and a two-fifths acre town lot. Obviously, in light of the growing population situation, the plan cannot work as the policy intends. However, in the past the policy had the effect of allowing most people the opportunity to plant and earn a subsistence
423 living from the earth. The law, at present, states that males
641 upon reaching 16 years of age are required to register with the
[651] government for tax purposes. At the same time, all are invited to

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent,
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still [747]
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction of these better than any description. 501
They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, request- 648
ing that he might with his people be received as subjects of the
British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cul- 000
tivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as
they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

Having no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 171 It is also noteworthy that the *imbi* is the most widely spread of any string game, either single or serial, in Oceania. In Samoa and in the Gilbert, Tokelau, and Ellice islands, where it has not been recorded, I feel sure that it will eventually be found.

The relationships of the Tongan figures are wholly Polynesian if Fiji be excluded. Only one form is common to Tonga and the New Caledonia area, whereas 2 of the total 10 are found in New Zealand and 3 in the Society and Marquesas islands. Of these 3, one appears also in Samoa and in the Ellice and Tokelau islands.

The Samoan figures are not sufficiently numerous to permit useful or valid conclusions to be drawn, except that 2 of them betoken close relationship with the islands to the westward.

121 As pointed out by Handy (10a) a study of string figures has thrown a strong light on the relationships of primitive peoples, but much more information from many island groups is necessary before the full value of the geographical study of string games can be utilized adequately in the solution of the ethnological problems of Melanesia and Polynesia. The present collection has perhaps its chief value in breaking new ground in certain island groups. What has been done in Samoa and in Tonga is not a tithe of what may be accomplished there if an investigator with tact and a knowledge of the language devotes adequate time to the study. Fiji is so prolific a field that I am satisfied that numerous games remain un-
[524] recorded. Immediate attention to this subject is, however, necessary, for
● [178] the people are rapidly forgetting the games and in a few years many will
[533] have become irretrievably lost. I would direct special attention to the
[171] collection of the chants associated with many of the games. Wherever pos-
[126] sible these have been recorded in this collection.

TERMINOLOGY

128 In the description of the movements required to evolve the various figures, I have adopted the technical terms devised by Rivers and Haddon (15), and used also by Handy (10), who describes the terminology in the following convenient form:

> The back of the hand and fingers is referred to as the dorsal side; the palm, as the palmar side; so that a string or a loop is said to lie on the dorsal or the palmar side of the hand or a finger, is picked up on the dorsal or the palmar side of a digit. The little finger side of the hand is called the ulnar side; the thumb side, the radial side; so that strings are said to be ulnar or radial according as they lie on the side of a finger towards the little finger or towards the thumb. Similarly, the direction of the rotation of a hand or a finger is designated as in the ulnar or in the radial direction, according as it describes an arc or a circle starting towards the little finger side of the hand or towards the thumb side.